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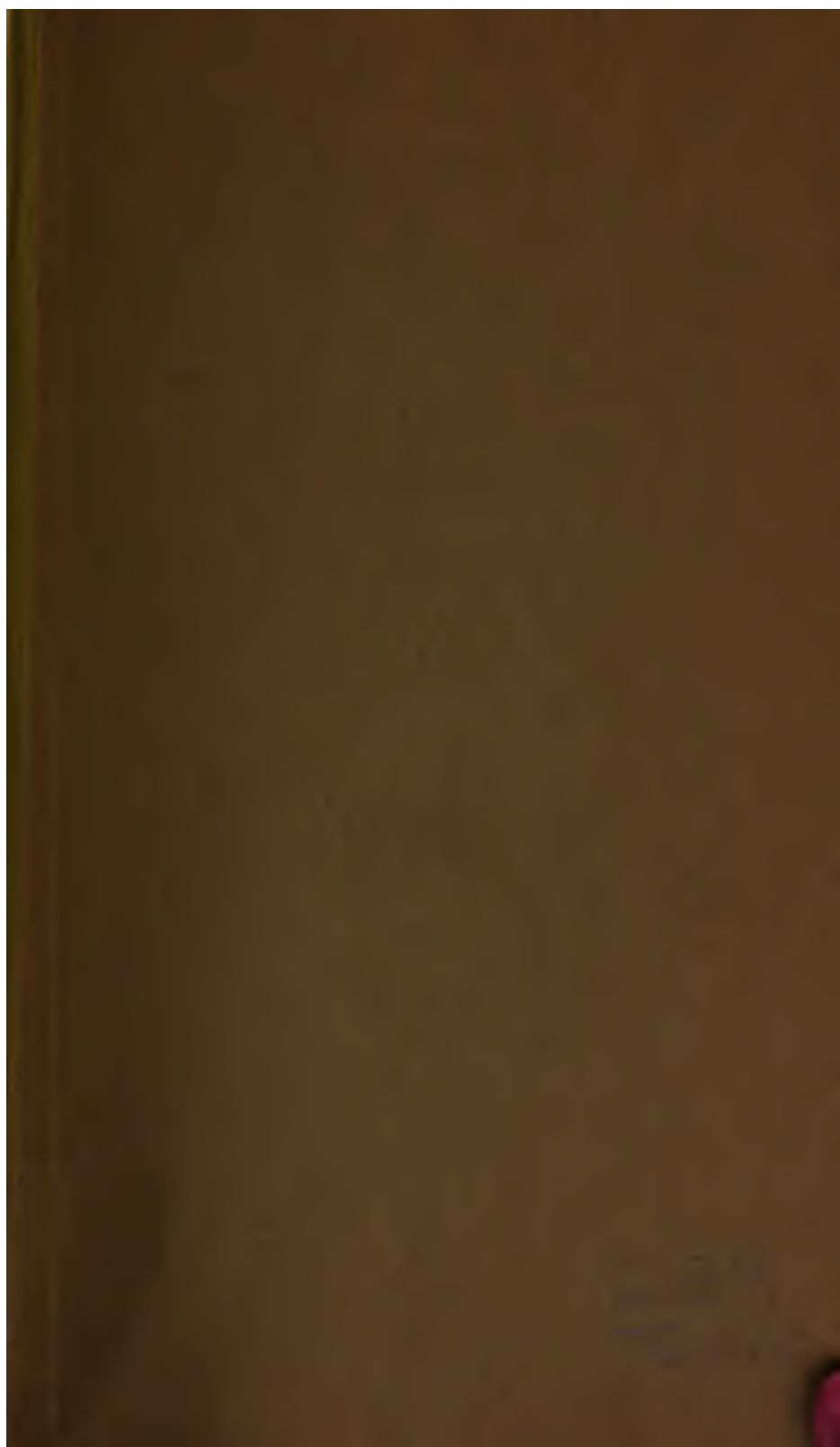
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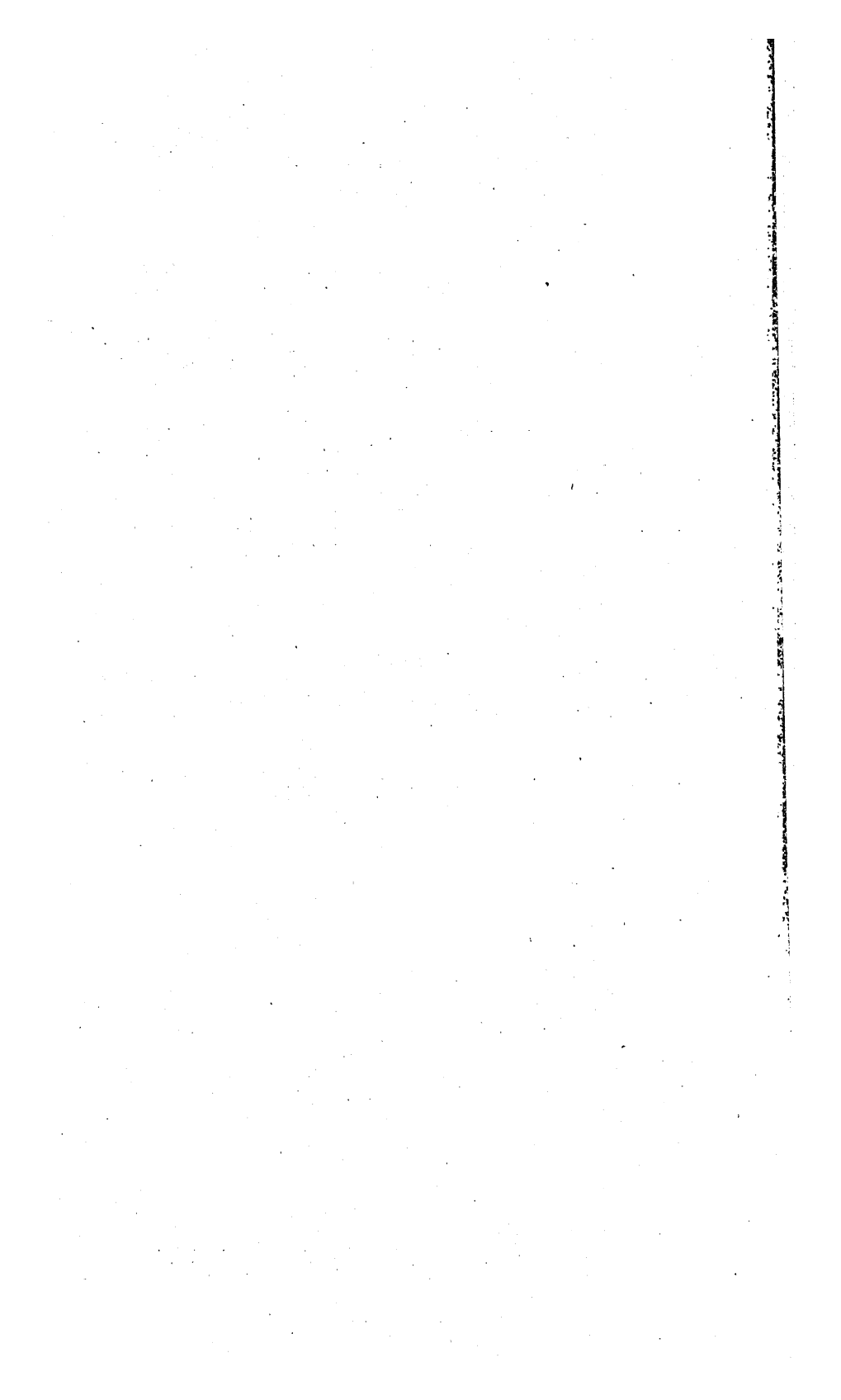
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The Glory of Regality:
AN
HISTORICAL TREATISE
OF THE ANOINTING
AND CROWNING
OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF
ENGLAND.

By **ARTHUR TAYLOR,**

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.



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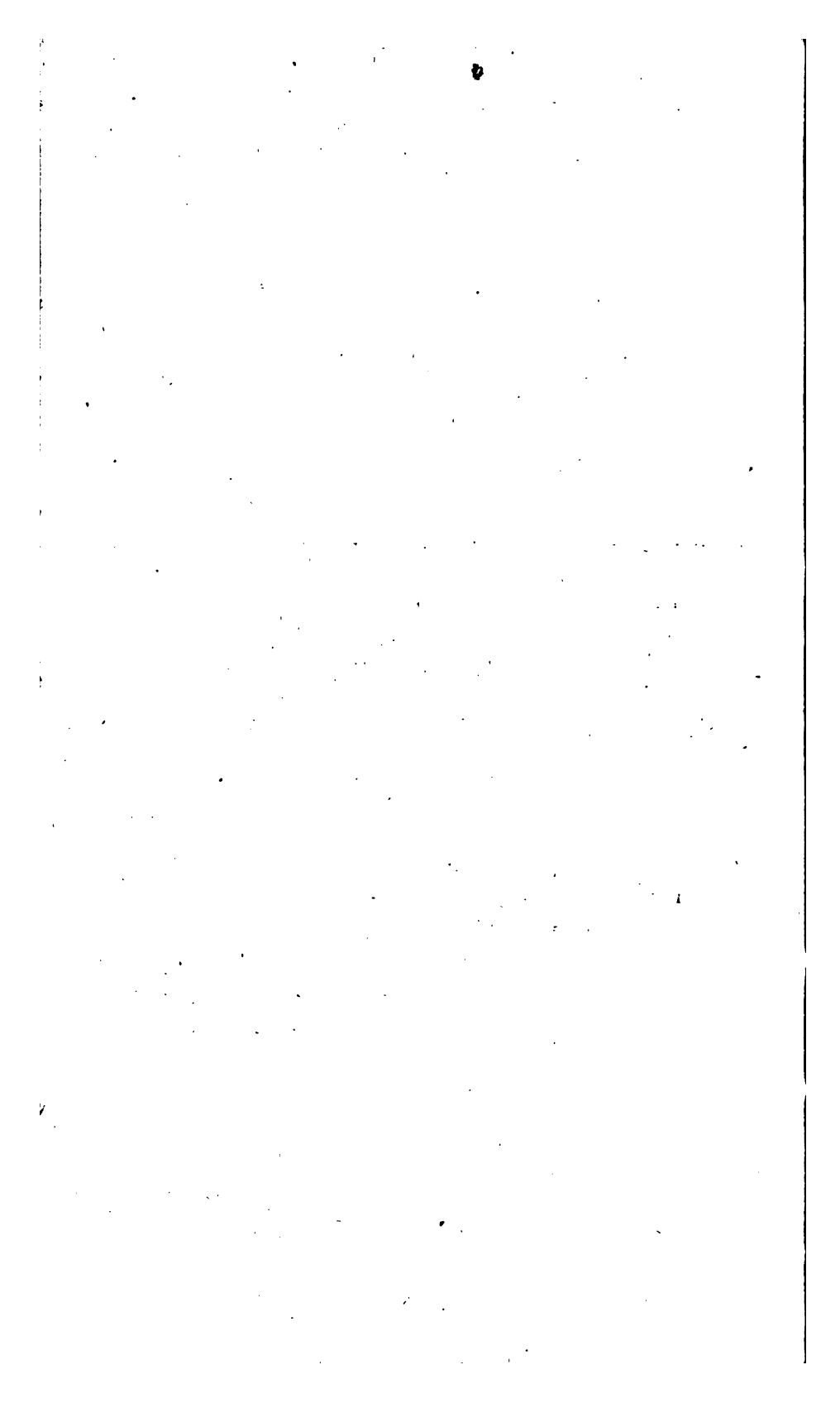
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TO
THE MOST NOBLE AND PUISSANT PRINCE
BERNARD-EDWARD
DUKE AND EARL OF NORFOLK,
EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY,
EARL MARSHAL,
AND HEREDITARY MARSHAL
OF ENGLAND,
&c.
THE FOLLOWING TREATISE
(WITH HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION)
IS MOST HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.



P R E F A C E.

ON venturing before the public in a department of national antiquities almost new to our language, the author feels it right to give some account of the reasons which have led to the present undertaking, and of the matter and method of the following pages.

Having some time ago met with the translation of M. Menin's *Historical Treatise of the French Coronations*, and derived considerable pleasure from the reading of it, he was prompted to inquire whether any book on a similar plan had been written to illustrate those of his own country. This inquiry he soon found to be fruitless; but shortly after obtaining Mr. Sandford's splendid and exact *History of the Coronation of King James the Second*, and a manuscript copy of the *Claims* exhibited on that

of Queen Anne, he was induced to look over such of his former collections as had any affinity to the subject, with a view to the compilation of a work which might in some measure supply this deficiency. In the prosecution of such a design, however, it was not in his power to advance speedily. The author believes he may say with Sir John Ferne in his *Glory of Generositie*, that it is now "about viij. yeeres" since his labour commenced; for, like his, it hath been rather an "intermissive delectation" than an object of regular pursuit.

It may be necessary to state that although at the time referred to no one book had been given to the public which treated generally of the ceremonies used in the inauguration of our kings, much valuable matter was scattered through the works of several of our greatest antiquaries, and the various collections of archæology, which it was highly important to examine, to collect, and to digest. This it hath been endeavoured to accomplish on a small scale in the present volume; but the design having been executed under many discouraging circumstances, the author fears he may not be justified in having

attempted it. Such as it is, however, he commits his work to the censure of the public ; professing only to have used the materials within his reach to the best of his ability, and trusting that where he hath erred in judgement or expression, the error may be such as will be pardoned in an inexperienced pen.

To procede to an analysis of the subject :— we may well apply to the English throne the words of a learned foreigner, "*non uno gradu tam sublime solium conscendere, nec simplici actu tam ponderosam induere majestatem, poterat amplissimi imperii candidatus:*" the ceremonies attending the inauguration of our kings have indeed become so numerous and complicated, that before they are displayed at length it is necessary for the reader's guidance to point out their leading and essential features, and to divide the whole into such parts as will explain their origin and effect.

The principal acts hereafter described may be distinguisht as 1. POLITICAL, 2. FEUDAL ; or as belonging to the respective characters of Sovereign and Seignor which are united in the person of the KING ; and the former of these is

attended with rites and ceremonies which may be divided into *civil* and *ecclesiastical*.

1. The political act, or that in which the nation is more immediately concerned, is the most important as well as most antient part of the ceremony of inauguration. This, in our present formulary, consists in demanding the consent of the people, and in requiring the prestation of an oath from the king before he receives the crown. When the sovereign is thus acknowledged and admitted to his office, as it becomes the interest no less of the people than of the king that his person and character be adorned with the highest honour that worldly pomp and the solemnities of religion can afford, the church receives him in its sanctuary, and its ministers confirm and strengthen his authority with prayers and benedictions, accompanied by the most holy and awful rites: while, by the formal delivery of the crown, the sceptre, and the sword, he is publicly invested with the powers and prerogatives of royalty.

2. As by the constitution of the kingdom all territorial dignities and possessions are held of the king as chief lord, the accession of a new

sovereign requires a renewal of the reciprocal engagements of service and protection which these tenures imply. *Homage* and the oath of *Fealty*, though not necessarily a part of the ceremony, have always followed and are now intimately blended with it.

Nor are these the only feudal circumstances connected with our subject. In the granting of lands to their vassals our antient kings not only consulted the maintenance of the nation's power in the reservation of rent or service, but frequently the dignity and splendour of their court. In a Feast which always follows the coronation, and which is now perhaps the most perfect model of antient courtly magnificence in the world, the various duties of the household are filled by hereditary grand officers of the kingdom, who thus perform the services enjoined them by the tenures of their estates.

In reviewing the scheme here laid down, as respects the manner in which the several subjects are afterwards treated, it may be remarked, that as the preliminary form of election seemed to require a larger explanation than it could conveniently have received in the cere-

monial itself, it hath been examined in the former part of the work. With regard to that most important branch of the subject, the Ritual of the church service, the author has generally followed in this, as in every thing relating to practice, the authority of Mr Sandford; but as the prayers are not given at full length in that writer's work, he has ventured to supply them, together with the whole of the Communion Service, from the Narrative of Ashmole; and the rather, on account of the latter author's agreeing more nearly in this respect with the antient formularies: the notes will however acquaint the reader when Mr Sandford's ceremonial has a prayer different from that in the text. As the Oath could not be regarded as an ordinary part of the ritual, and as it is not regulated by the authorities to which that is subject, he has given this important instrument as it is now establisht by law. Throughout the whole of the service recourse hath been had to the antient English formularies: the author was also fortunate in the possession of the *Ordo Romanus*, and of several copies of the *Pontificale Romanum*, printed and manuscript, which

were highly serviceable for the illustration of the subject.

The description and use of the *Regalia* have not been forgotten: the well known chair of King Edward I. hath also been particularly noticed.

Of the subjects connected with feudal antiquity, Homage and Fealty are examined with considerable attention in the Additional Notes. The claims to honorary services are explained in the body of the work; and it is hoped that the connected and systematical view of them which is there given may be useful to those who are particularly interested in their history.

In the Chronicle of Coronations the author hath in almost all cases cited contemporary historians, and taken extracts from such of them as wrote in the English language. The descriptions of antient feasts, so profusely given by the old chroniclers, may perhaps have been too liberally transcribed, but we cannot doubt their intimate connexion with the subject. The festivities of the banquet-room are not to be regarded as a later addition to the solemnities of the church. Coronation feasts are not only

common to all countries, but are also of high antiquity: the *regale convivium* which followed the inauguration of King Edwy is too well remembered for its unhappy conclusion; this will carry their history far back in our own country; but they may be traced to a still remoter age in the regions of the North: the *convivium initiale*, as it hath been termed, and the votive cup—the horn of heroes—quafft by the new-created king, were once in Sweden the very form and process of investiture.

With regard to the degree of value or importance which different minds may attach to the subjects treated of in the following pages the author conceives he has no need to offer any observation: if in devoting his attention to them he has followed the example of a Selden and a Prynne, an Ashmole and an Anstis, he is willing to consider their vindication as no very necessary part of his labours.

London, September 22, 1819.

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EXPLANATION OF THE CUTS.

THE subject of the Vignette to Book I. is the Elevation of one of the old German kings upon a shield or target: the design is taken from a plate in Cluverius's *Germania Antiqua*. Another curious illustration of this custom may be found in Montfaucon's *Monumens*, tome i., where the king is represented *standing* upon the shield.

BOOK II. The figures represented in this engraving are those of EDWARD the Confessor, HENRY I. and RICHARD II. copied from the most correct representations of their Great Seals: the former was also compared with an impression of the seal itself in a private collection. They are given as authentic delineations of the dress and various regal ornaments of our antient monarchs.

At page 58 is a view of the Coronation Chair preserved in Westminster Abbey, from an original drawing. The author has ventured to supply in his sketch that part of the ornamental work which has been broken off in the original.

BOOK III. The first subject of this cut is THOMAS de BROTHERTON, earl of Norfolk, receiving the patent of his creation as Marshal of England from his brother, King EDWARD II. The Marshal is represented with his staff of office, and in a surcoat of arms bearing a lion rampant within a bordure charged with roundlets.

From the original grant in the Cotton Library, as engraved in Strutt's *Reg. and Eccl. Antiq.* pl. xiv.

The second subject is JOHN de GAUNT duke of Lancaster sitting, as High Steward of England, to receive the claims of the nobility and others at the coronation of his nephew King RICHARD II.

Engraved in the same work, pl. xvi.

BOOK IV. This Vignette contains the Coronation of RICHARD II. by archbishop Sudbury, who is attended by his cross-bearer, as the other prelate is by his crozier. The figure at the side is the earl of Derby, afterward King Henry IV., bearing the sword *Curtana* as deputy to his father the duke of Lancaster.

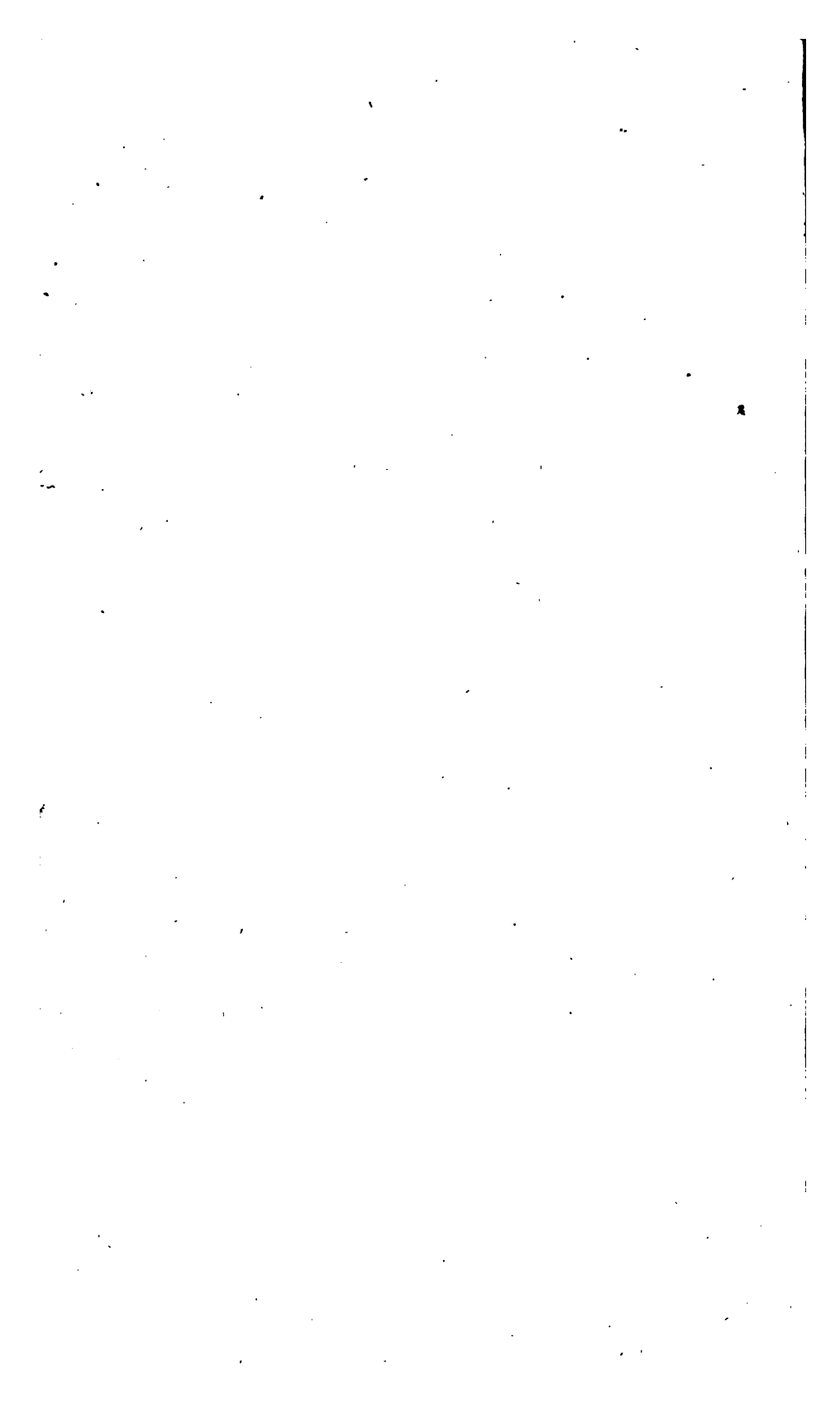
Taken from an illumination in the *Liber Regalis*, as engraved in *Reg. and Eccles. Antiq.* pl. xvii.

At p. 179 is a sketch of the arrangements in Westminster Abbey from Sandford's *Coronation of James II.*

BOOK V. Vignette represents the Coronation of King HENRY IV. by archbishop Fitz-Alan assisted by another prelate. The figure kneeling in front is most likely the abbot of Westminster.

From an illuminated Froissart in the British Museum, also engraved in *Reg. and Eccles. Antiq.* pl. xxxviii.

The Glory of Regality.





BOOK I.

KINGLY TITLE AND OFFICE.—ELECTION.—GOTHIC MANNER
OF ELEVATING KINGS—SUPERSEDED BY THE CEREMONIES
OF UNCTION AND CORONATION.—ORIGIN OF THE LATTER
FORMS.

§ 1. *Introduction.*

BEFORE we begin our inquiry into the history of the forms of regal ordination, it may not be improper to define the kingly title, and to compare it with some others which are attributed to the possessors of sovereign power.

EMPEROR, the Latin *Imperator*, signifying a commander, is the proper designation of the successors to the Roman sovereignty. Originally a title of mi-

litary power used by the chief generals of the army, it became in the person of Augustus Cæsar the highest title of authority, and equivalent with the style of royalty. On the division of the Roman empire both the eastern and western sovereigns continued to use the title of emperor, though the Greek word *Basileus*¹ more properly distinguished the former. Both these titles have been used by kings of England in the earlier ages of the monarchy². The office of emperor hath always been elective; at first by the army, and in the later German empire by the electoral princes³.

*REX*⁴, a ruler, the old title of supreme power

¹ Supposed to be compounded of *basis* and *λαῖ*, prop of the people.

² Æthelstan is called *basileus* in the royal book of the Gospels used at the coronation of the Saxon kings. In a charter of the abbey of Malmesbury made in 914 the style of the king is "*Ego Edgarus totius Albionis basileus, necnon maritimarum seu insularum regum circumhabitantium.*" And in another of 964 the subscription is "*Ego Edgar basileus Anglorum et imperator regum insularum.*" Æthelred II. is styled "*Anglorum induperator;*" and the following titles are found in the *Historia Eliensis*,—"Ego Ædgar rex totius Britanniae," "Ego Knut basileus totius Albionis gentis." The title *basileus* had been assumed by Lewis II. emperor of the West; it is probable therefore that it travelled this way to the court of our Saxon kings. The last instance of its use in England which I have met with is in a charter of the Confessor.

³ "At first the emperor was chosen by the people at large; the right of election was afterwards confined to the nobility and principal officers of the state: insensibly it was engrossed by the five great officers, the chancellor, the great marshal, the great chamberlain, the great butler, and the great master."—Butler's *Emp. of Charlemagne*, p. 104.

⁴ The Latin *rex* is of kindred origin with the Gothic *REIKS*, and had the same signification. The nearness of their derivatives is very re-

among the Romans, though banisht from the practice of their constitution was retained in their language, and hath ever been used in the Latin style of European kings. It is also the parent of the Italian *re*, the Spanish *rey*, and the French *roi*; and though radically different and distinct from our English title king, hath been commonly used as synonymous with it, our sovereign being styled *rex* and *le roi* according as he is described in the Latin or French languages.

KING (formerly *cuning*, *cyning*, *cyng*⁵) is a *cunning*, wise, and potent governor. The same title, under different forms of orthography, is found in most of the northern nations of Europe. From the

markable: *peccan*, *peccan*, *regnare*; *rixobē*, *rexit*; *picetepe*, *rector*. **REIKI**, the Saxon *rice*, is preserved in the German *könig-ric* and the English bishop-rick: *king-rike* was in use amongst us so late as the reign of Elizabeth. The abbot Ælfric says that "*rex* is gecpeðen a *re-gendo*, *ƿ* is, *ƿ*am *peccendome*." The etymology of a word found in so many languages it is very difficult to ascertain. There is perhaps more reason to suppose that the Latins borrowed their *rex* from the antient Gothic tribes than the reverse, as stated by the learned editor of Fortescue; but it is likely that both derived from an elder stock, perhaps *𐍂𐍅𐍋*. An ingenious Scottish writer gives the word a Celtic origin:—"The Teutonic *rieck* and *riki*, a kingdom, . . . which is synonymous with the Scots or Irish *rige* and *rioghachd*, has its origin in the Celtic *righ*, which is the Scots or Irish for king, as *rhi* and *rhŷ* are the Welsh, *ruy* the Cornish, and *rue* the Armoric."—*Report of the Committee of the Highl. Soc. on the Poems of Ossian*, p. 287. The similarity of the Gothic and Celtic words is curious, and they may possibly have had the same remote origin: but I cannot agree in the supposed derivation of the one from the other.

⁵ The same word with the Cimbric *𐌿𐌹𐌿𐌿𐌿*, the Danish *kønge*, Teutonic *kuning*, and Franco-Theotic *cuning*, and probably derived

earliest date of sovereign power in England we find it described by the title KING : may so venerable a distinction be handed down to the reverence of unborn ages !

§ 2. *Of the English Monarchy.*

THE English people having been established in this island by the successful enterprise of different leaders, they naturally formed themselves into separate states. Seven or sometimes eight independent kingdoms continued to exist in England during about 400 years. Their respective kings were all derived from the family of Woden, the great hero of the North ; and none but his descendants were chosen to the regal dignity⁶.

This principle of adherence to the blood of a royal line, which appeared as one of the first rays in the dawn of civil government, was so constantly and re-

from the Gothic *KUNNAN*, whether in the sense of *knowledge* or *power*, which are connected not physically alone, but etymologically. This derivation receives great countenance from a passage quoted in the notes on Fortescue (p. 9.) "Cýning geþræt rihtþýrnesse 7 þýrdome; him is nama geþræt of soþum peccendome, 7 he hine sylfne, 7 riþþan his leode, mid þýrdome þýrrig 7 þel geþrætlæce."—*Serm. Cathol. a doct. Bedæ Histor. editore citat.* p. 167. The following of Ælfric (from his Grammar) has the same meaning implied : "Se cýning sceal mid micclum þýrdome his leode þýrran, 7 beþeþtan mid cræft." Parkhurst conjectures a derivation of this word from the Hebrew כֶּן; perhaps our Oriental scholars may connect it with the Persian or Tartar خان a title of sovereignty.

ligiously preserved, that we cannot refuse to infer from it a right of regal government in the descendants of the first kings in preference to other men, which would be incorrectly termed *divine*, but is nevertheless sacred, by antiquity and established use. Besides, this original preference was not without a cause. The scattered barbarians of the east and north could enjoy few of the privileges of man and none of the relations of citizen till some leader arose of mind and conduct sufficient to establish them in the rights of an independent nation. Such a leader, when successful, would deserve as well as attain a sovereignty over those whom he had benefited : and it is natural that the preeminence should remain among his offspring. The religion of our heathen ancestors was mixt with hero-worship ; and hero-descent would confer a nobility demanding reverence from their superstition, and attachment from their gratitude,—an hereditary gratitude due to the founder of the nation⁷.

⁶ “Fram ðan þodne apoc eall une cýne-cýnn.”—*Chron. Sax. an.* 449. Consult the genealogies in the same book.

“*Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt.*”—Tacitus *De Mor. Germ.* c. 7. An old author cited by Spelman has the same thing of the Longobards ; “*Omnes reges fuerunt adelingi, id est, de nobiliori prosapia, quæ apud illos dicitur adelinga.*”—*Gloss.* p. 10.

⁷ I have been anticipated in these remarks by Sir William Davenant ;—“So vast a design as that of leaving one’s own and invading a remote country must fall into some bold and great mind, that could first conceive, and then be able to go through with such an undertaking ; and he who was thus qualified with courage and conduct easily obtain’d supream authority over all the rest ; from whence came that

Of the English princes above mentioned one was often elected to preside among the rest as king of the English nation, each state retaining its proper sovereignty. Such was the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy: but, by the failure of some of the families and the subjugation of others, the undivided dominion of England came, in the course of the ninth century, to be vested in the great and noble house of Wessex; and by the wisdom and success of such kings as Ælfred, Edward the Elder, and Æthelstan, were laid the foundations of our national greatness, and of the glory of the English crown.

Thus have we briefly traced the definition of the kingly title in general, and the mode of its establishment in our own country. To enter upon a display of the powers, prerogatives, and appellations of majesty with which it hath been invested and adorned would lead us too far from the present object. It must be observed, however, that the crown of England hath ever been sovereign and independent, neither conferred nor protected by any federal head, as some have been,

these people chose to be govern'd by kings."—*Discourse upon Grants and Resumptions*, p. 92.

⁸ *Glorie of Generosities*, p. 146.

⁹ "De regis officio, et de jure et appendiciis coronæ regni Brytanniæ.

"Universa verò terra et tota et insulæ omnes usque Norwegiam et usque Daciam pertinent ad coronam regni ejus, et sunt de appendiciis et dignitatibus regis, et una est monarchia, et unum est regnum, et vocabatur quondam regnum Brytanniæ, modo autem vocatur regnum Anglorum. Tales enim metas et fines ut prædictæ sunt constituit et imposuit coronæ regni

but descending from the primitive leaders and chiefs of the nation. In this sense the king may be said to hold his crown "immediately of the Lord of heaven and earth, without any other meane segneorie, or attendancie of corporall or bodely service or allegiance to any other worldly prince or potentate⁸." So far indeed is it from having experienced any subjection of this kind, that besides the realm of Scotland, which our later princes have governed as the descendants of her royal line, the English monarch exercises the power of sovereignty over the kingdoms of Ireland and Man, and the principality of Wales. Nor are the claims of a federal dominion in the English crown of late assumption: in the laws of the Confessor we find ascribed to it a jurisdiction of great extent, as the old appendage of the kingdom⁹. Thus great and powerful, the crown of England hath been likewise high in precedency and honour: the august ceremonies which will presently be described will not only show its magnificence, but perhaps explain how it hath so long remained in security and respect.

dominus Eleutherius papa sententiâ suâ anno sexagesimo septimo post passionem Christi, qui primo destinavit coronam benedictam Brytanniæ et christianitatem Deo inspirante Lucio regi Brytonum."—*Leges Edovardi Regis*, cap. 17. After-kings have found more substantial claims, if not more just, to the empire of the neighbour isles. The reader may refer to a note on the word *basileus*, in p. 4, and to the *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 2.

§ 3. *Of the Election of our Kings.*

THAT the ceremony of coronation is also a ceremony of national election¹⁰ is a fact so obvious in the pages of history that a particular notice of it would be unnecessary were it not that some doctrines have been promulgated in later times which have a tendency to throw doubt on the design and effect of this antient institution. In order that these may be rightly understood, it is desirable that some notice should be taken of the principles and practice of our ancestors, with respect to regal succession and the tenure of the crown. The following passages contain opinions which have been held by many on this subject.

Mr Carte says "The crown itself descended according to the course of a *lineal agnatic succession*; all the males, descended from the blood of the first king or progenitor of the royal family, succeeding to it in their respective order, by right of blood, *ob sanguinis continuationem*, as the lawyers express themselves." He adds "such was the constitution of all the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy," and refers us to that of Wessex for confirmation of his theory¹¹!

Sir William Blackstone writes thus of the English

¹⁰ The word which is used in the text may perhaps be liable to cavil and objection. The author is not however bound to defend it, as it does not originate with him. If all our earliest and best historians, both Latin and English, have connected this word with coro-

crown : "It is in general hereditary, or descendible to the next heir, on the death or demise of the last PROPRIETOR : " and, " I think it clearly appears, from the highest authority this nation is acquainted with, that the crown of England hath been *ever* an hereditary crown, though subject to limitations by Parliament." " Hence it is easy to collect that the title to the crown is at present hereditary, though not quite *so absolutely hereditary* as formerly¹²."

We are now to inquire into the correctness of such opinions on the subject of regal succession.

It is unnecessary in this place to investigate minutely the political practice of our forefathers while roamers of the German woods ; it will be readily conceded that if, among the Gothic tribes,

" One eminent above the rest, for strength,
For stratagem, or courage, or for all,
Was chosen leader,"

the people exercised the freest right of electing their king, and of limiting the power they conferred. "Nor must we imagine" (says the learned Dr Gilb. Stuart) "that the Saxon any more than the German monarchs succeeded each other in a lineal descent, or

nation, a modern writer can have authority neither to suppress nor to change it.

¹¹ *History of England*, vol. i. p. 365. The inquiring reader would be not a little surprised at comparing these bold assertions with the genealogical tables which are appended to this very book. Real historical documents will support no party but that of TRUTH.

¹² *Comment. b. i. c. 3.*

that they disposed of the crown at their pleasure. In both countries the free election of the people filled the throne, and their choice was the only rule by which princes reigned¹³." The attachment of these nations to their kingly families hath already been noticed. Powerful, however, as this sentiment was, the love of liberty controlled it for the public good. While they respected the lineage of their kings, they chose from it such individuals as were thought best able to bear the weight of sovereignty.

The opinions just stated are so clearly authorized by Olaus Magnus in his work on the Northern Nations, that I shall be excused for concluding them in his remarkable words: "*Qui bonum publicum,*" &c. "*tueri visus est, is omnium nunciorum provincialium unanimi consensu rex appellandus elevatur; eo tamen respectu, ut si filius regis, frater, aut consanguineus, prædictas virtutes habuerit, NON HÆREDITATIS SED ELECTIONIS JURE, cæteris omnibus anteferatur*"¹⁴."

Let us now inquire further how the regal power was understood to be conferred on the first race of our kings.

¹³ *Historical Dissertation on the Engl. Const.* p. 151.

¹⁴ *De Gent. Septent. Hist.* lib. viii.

¹⁵ "*Legitime reges a sacerdotibus et senioribus populi eligantur.*"—Spelman. *Concil.* tom. i. p. 296. ¹⁶ *Bed. Eccl. Hist.* lib. i. c. 17.

¹⁷ Asser not only tells us that this king was chosen "*omnium accolarum voluntate,*" but that had he thought fit to accept it he might readily have enjoyed the crown in preference to his elder brother.—

At a great national assembly or general council held at Calcuith in the year 785, it was declared that kings are lawfully to be ELECTED by the clergy and elders of the nation¹⁵.

The following testimony is from the venerable Bede, and it receives additional weight from having been translated into English by the greatest of our kings—by ÆLFRED. “*Nemo seipsum poterit regem constituere; quin populus libertatem eligendi regem, QUEM VOLUERIT, sortitur: sed postquam in regem inauguratus fuerit, tunc imperium in populum rex habet*”¹⁶. In the Will of king Ælfred¹⁷ is a clause which shows that he did not consider his crown as conferred either by inheritance from his royal forefathers or by the pope’s consecration, but that he held it as a gift which, to quote his own words, “*Deus et principes cum senioribus populi misericorditer ac benigne dederunt*”¹⁸.

It sufficiently appears, as well from the mode in which the crown was conferred on William I. and his confirmation of the Confessor’s laws, as from the testimonies about to be cited, that at the coming in of the Normans the right of national election was

De Reb. Gest. Ælfr. p. 24.

¹⁵ Asser. *De Reb. Gest. Ælfr.* p. 73. *Rights of the Kingdom, or Customs of our Ancestors, &c.* 4to 1682. p. 63.

In the same spirit is that declaration of the warlike Offa,—“*Ad libertatis vestre tuitionem, non meis meritis sed sola liberalitate vestra unanimiter me convocastis.*”—*Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 61.

neither lost nor discontinued : and I am surprised at finding a too common error repeated by Mr Turner in his learned History of the Anglo-Saxons, that "the Norman conquest terminated the power of the Wite-nagemote, and changed the crown from an elective to an hereditary succession¹⁹." Such an assertion can only be reconciled with historical fact by giving it a very limited interpretation. That the pretensions of hereditary descent were not, after the Conquest, so frequently past by in the exercise of the elective right, we must readily admit ; but that any so great and general change was then effected, we shall not be disposed to acknowledge²⁰.

¹⁹ B. iv. ch. 1.

²⁰ In connexion with what is said above of the Conqueror, it may not be ill-timed to notice an argument against the elective nature of the English crown derived from the circumstance of its being the head of a FEUDAL government : for, if the tenure of the crown received at this time any change, it might be expected to arise from the establishment of the feudal polity. The kingdom is said not to have been elective, because "the government was founded upon TENURE which rose from the vassal to the thane, and so on to the prince as first and chief lord, and the lands held by this tenure descended in a right line." It should, however, be remembered that the kingly office partakes of the character of civil magistrate or political governor, as well as feudal lord : and that the succession, even in merely feudal sovereignties, was not always by strict hereditary descent. This latter position is supported by the learned editor of the *Hist. Anglic. Selecta Monumenta*, in a note on p. 294. "The influence of the second of the three wills above mentioned, that is, of the will of the people, or holders of inferior fiefs contained within, and making part of, the vacant fief, in determining the succession to it, appears from the histories of these old times to have been still greater than that of the first will, or the will of the

The speech of the archbishop at the nomination of king John to succede to his brother's throne is remarkably in character with the authorities of earlier date. "It is well known to you all that no man hath right of succession to this crown, except that by unanimous consent of the kingdom, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, he be elected for his own deserts²¹."

Even the law books of our Norman jurists, which have nearly the reverence of oracles amongst us, proclaim the custom of the nation in electing its king. The *Mirroure* says of the early English, "*eslierent de eux un roy à reigner sir eux*;" and that being elected, they did limit him by oaths and laws. "If Bracton or

last possessor of it. For, whenever they thought fit, they appear to have elected their own governours, without adhering to the law of primogeniture, or any other rule of succession, by which they were directed on ordinary occasions. And their free and unanimous election seems to have been considered as conferring the title, or right, to the government in the fullest and clearest manner. And this was more particularly the case in very large and powerful fiefs, which had but a slight degree of dependence on the upper lords, of whom they were holden by fealty and homage; such as the dukedoms of Normandy and Britany, and the earldoms of Anjou and Maine."

²¹ The speech of abp Hubert is so valuable an authority that I shall insert it at length in the APPENDIX to book I. as it is recorded by Matthew Paris. "All regal governments," saith Blackstone, "must be either hereditary or elective; and as *I believe* there is no instance wherein the crown of England has ever been asserted to be elective except by the regicides at the infamous and unparalleled trial of King Charles I. it must of consequence be hereditary."—B. I. ch. 3. Such reasoning as this will not increase our reverence for the learned judge's authority on this subject, especially with the declaration of this great prelate and statesman before us!

if Fleta may be judges of this question, they will tell us that in their times our king was elective; '*Non a regnando dicitur, sed a bene regendo, et ad hoc ELECTUS est:*' and again, '*ad hæc autem CREATUS rex et ELECTUS ut justitiam faciat universis*'²²."

Such is the weight of authority on this important subject. But not the opinions even of the judge, the sovereign, or the senate should have an influence on our minds equal to that of recorded fact. It is by the evidence of history, by the *ipsissima verba* of contemporary writers, honestly reported and plainly understood, that the exercise of rights and even the existence of laws is correctly to be ascertained. Such evidence, as far as our limits permit, will be given in that part of the present work which is intended to form a Chronicle of English Coronations. With respect to that early period which will be but light-

²² *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 26. Bracton, lib. iii. cap. 9. See also Fortescue on Monarchy, p. 14, &c.

²³ The expressions *gecopen to cýnge*, *geceay to cýnz*, &c. will occur to every reader of the *Saxon Chronicle*.

²⁴ *Remonstrance and Protestation of all good Protestants, &c. with Reflexions thereupon*, 4to 1689.

²⁵ I wish here to notice an opinion of Mr Toland's, which is also held by Blackstone and many other writers, that the nation had been used to elect FAMILIES, and not INDIVIDUALS, to the kingly dignity. He says, "In all ages our known method has bin to limit the succession under conditions to a certain line, for avoiding all the contests and disturbances at frequent elections; and yet to reserve a power of excluding the next of kin if under any incapacity of reigning, or tho capable yet sometimes not so fit as a worthier in the same family, and very

ly toucht upon as being before the known use of the ceremonies which we are to describe, it may suffice to observe that the constant language of historians when noticing the accession of a new sovereign is such as can only be understood of positive election²³. In later times, though the right of *rejection* was less frequently exerted by the nation, the right of *succession* was slowly advanced by the crown. "It has been made out beyond all possibility of contradiction, and if historical faith can ever be well grounded it must certainly be true, that the chimerical lineal succession has been slighted at least ten times since William the Conqueror: and that the late new deference that has been given to it has not been of above eighty years standing, and a meer novelty in our state²⁴." Such is the light in which hereditary succession was regarded at so late a period as the Revolution of 1688²⁵!

often for great and important reasons quite to transfer the right of succession from one line to another." The instances which Mr. Toland has given in his *Anglia Libera* are surely not of a kind to favour this opinion:—they rather show a constant election of individuals than limitation to heirs, which is far from being the genuine practice of our constitution. "Upon search," says the author of the *Rights of the Kingdom*, "I cannot find the old oaths of allegiance did relate to the king's heirs or successors, either in the Saxon or first Norman times, although we find the oath in old laws, long before Edward II., and in old lawyers, Bracton, Britton, Fleta, with the *Mirroure*, punctual in the oath of allegiance, but not a syllable of heirs or successors that I can find. Yet in the times of Henry I. and Henry II. there was some special acts of Parliament for settling the crown

The time and place at which the successor is virtually appointed to a throne must vary with the circumstances which have made it vacant. . The Parliament hath always conferred or confirmed the crown in a regular course²⁶; but an extraordinary meeting of the people at large, or of the greater peers only, whether in council or perhaps on the field of battle, may sometimes have exerted the power of nomination when the reigning prince had been deposed, or the common rules of succession were broken through. These proceedings, however, form no part of our present subject. We have to examine that most antient form of election, or rather of popular CONSENT and APPROBATION²⁷, which we know to take place during the ceremony of coronation, and which we can trace with the same invariable recurrence as any of its attendant rites.

“In all well-ordered kingdoms,” says a very able writer, “this custom is yet remaining; the sons do not succeed the fathers before the people have first,

on Maud the emperess or her issue, and king Henry's son was crowned in his father's reign, and of that time the *salvo* in Glanvil, *regi et hæredibus*, which I find not in any other old lawyer: and I believe it not usual till the great quarrels of York and Lancaster; it may be much later.”—p. 24.

²⁶ “From the comparison of all the passages on this subject, the result seems to be that the king was elected at the Witenagemote held on the demise of the preceding sovereign.”—Turner's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, b. iv. ch. 1. That the same practice was continued after the Conquest will be very evident. It is still to be traced in the Acts of Recognition.

as it were, anew established them by their approbation; neither were they acknowledged in quality as inheriting it from the dead, but approved and accounted kings then only when they were invested with the kingdom by receiving the scepter and diadem from the hands of those who represent the majesty of the people. One may see most evident marks of this in Christian kingdoms which are at this day esteemed hereditary²⁸."

The Anglo-Saxon form of coronation²⁹ directs that the king shall be raised from the ground, and, having been chosen by the bishops and people, shall with a clear voice, before God and all the people, promise that he will observe the rules which are enjoined by his coronation oath.

We may learn as well from the forms of coronation to be found in Hoveden, Walsingham, and other historians of the Norman period as from the records and rolls of Richard II., that the king was used at his coronation first to take the solemn oath, and then that the archbishop going to every side of the scaffold re-

²⁷ The succession of all kings in Christendom "includeth also an election or approbation of the commonwealth, as well appeareth by the manner of their new admission at their coronations, where the people are demanded again if they be content to accept such a man for their king, though his title of nearness by blood be never so clear."—*Doleman's Conference concerning Succession*, &c. 8vo, Preface.

²⁸ *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*: A Defence of Liberty against Tyrants, by Junius Brutus, (Engl. Trans.) 4to, 1689, p. 62.

²⁹ See APPENDIX to book IV.

lated to the people how the king was sworn, and asked them "*si ipsi consentire vellent*," if they would consent to take him for their king and liege lord; and if so, they came and did him homage³⁰.

The following is given by Doleman³¹ as the "sum of the English coronation." After reciting the oath, he says "then doth the archbishop (turning about to the people) declare what the king hath promised and sworn, and by the mouth of an herauld at arms asketh their consents, whether they be content to submit themselves unto this man as unto their king or no, under the conditions proposed; whereunto when they have yielded themselves, then beginneth the archbishop to put upon him the regal ornaments." He further adds, "there are yet many living in England that have seen the several coronations of king Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth that now reigneth, and can witness that at all and every of

³⁰ *Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 23.

³¹ On the authority of Stow, and other old historians.

³² *Conference*, &c. p. 94-6. The manner in which these assertions are treated by Sir John Hayward may deserve notice. "Although we admit it to be true, yet seeing the answer is not made by the estates of the realme assembled in Parliament, but by a confused concourse (necessarie officers excepted) of all sorts both of age and sexe, it is for ceremonie only, and not of force, either to giue or to increase any right."—*Answer to Doleman*, ch. vi. So it is that when Parliament exerts a right the people are denied to have any share in it; when the people themselves are heard it is treated as the voice of a tumultuous and unlicensed mob: besides, I do not know that the assembly at a coronation is not a Parliament, or at least an equivalent convention; the peers having summons, and the commons

their coronations the consent of the people and their acceptance of those princes is not only demanded by the publick cry of a herald at arms, which standeth on both the sides of the high scaffold or stage whereon the prince is crowned, and the people's answer expected till they cry yea, yea; but also that the said princes gave there their corporal oath"—&c.³³

The same proceeding has been observed in Sweden and in Germany. At the coronation of Otho, eldest son and heir of the emperor Henry I., the archbishop, bringing him to the altar, said to the people, "Behold I bring you here Otho, chosen by God and appointed by his father Henry our lord, and now made king by all the princes of the empire. If this election please you, do you signify the same *by holding up your hands to heaven.*" The people consenting, he was then anointed and invested with the imperial ensigns³³.

being also present. Sir George Mackenzie sagely observes that "this is no necessary solemnity, and is done rather to give the people occasion to shew their affection than their power!"—*Jus Regium*, p. 187.

The mind of Milton was framed to perceive and admit the authority of this most antient practice. "*Regnum [Anglicanum, sc.] fuisse hæreditarium præcisè nego; quod et regum series et mos creandi eorum demonstrat: disertis enim verbis petuntur populi suffragia. Postquam enim rex consuetum juramentum dedit, accedens archiepiscopus ad quatuor partes exstructi suggesti, toties rogat populum universum his verbis, Consentire vultis de habendo ipsum regem?—planè ac si Romano more dixisset, Vultis, jubetis hunc regnare? quod opus non foret si regnum jure esset hæreditarium,*" &c.—*Pro Populo Anglic. Defensio*, cap. viii.

³³ Witicupd, *Hist. Saxon.* lib. i. Doleman, p. 71.

M. Menin, in the same volume which defends the absolute hereditary succession of the kings of France, informs us that at their coronation the bishops of Laon and Beauvais raise the king from his chair, and standing up demand of the lords and people, according to antient custom, whether they accept Louis — for their king; and after their CONSENT is given in a respectful silence the archbishop tenders the king the oath of the realm³⁴.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to remind the reader of a remarkable personification of the majesty of the commonwealth in the kingdom of Arragon, with the title of *Justitia major*. To this power the king immediately before his inauguration swore fealty and did homage; when he was address by the lords of the kingdom in the following words:—*Nos qui valemos tanto come vos, y podemos mas que vos, vos elegimos rey con estas y estas condiciones; intra vos y nos un que manda mas que vos*. At the meeting of the estates every third year the same declaration was always repeated³⁵.

As to the continuance of this form of election in England, the reader will find it in our account of ceremonies in actual use: somewhat altered indeed, but yet bearing the stamp of its pristine importance,

³⁴ *Descr. of the Cor. of the Kings and Queens of France*, p. 138.

³⁵ *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, pp. 75, 116. Hotoman's *France-Gallia*, chap. x.

It may not, perhaps, readily appear how such a practice as that we have been considering is compatible with the principles of hereditary descent so fully recognised in the former section. It is certain, however, that the earliest times to which we have resorted for instances of its use were the very times in which the claims of birth were recorded with the most scrupulous care²⁶; and a due consideration of the subject will lead to the conclusion that while the welfare and even the existence of a state might depend on the personal character of its kings, it was only by subjecting the accession of the *individual* to a national confirmation that the continuance of the *family* could be preserved and perpetuated.

§ 4. *On the Gothic manner of elevating Kings, and on the Stone Seats of the Scandinavian nations.*

We have already observed that the right of choosing their kings was exercised by all the tribes of antient Germany. The way in which these princes received the regal dignity was equally expressive of the tenure by which it was held, and of the qualities for which it was conferred. The king or commander, who was chosen by the people in a public assembly,

²⁶ The occurrence of such phrases as "*hereditaria successione eligere*," will show at least that the two principles were not considered as irreconcilable by our antient writers.

was placed on a shield or target, and carried about on the shoulders of his men; while the multitude saluted him with shouts and loud applause³⁷.

This characteristic ceremony was probably known amongst the Gothic or Teutonic nations from the earliest times. Tacitus hath described the elevation; after the custom of his country, of Brinno, chief of the Caninefates³⁸. And the learned Cluverius, referring to the account of the Roman historian, says that it was the custom not of a particular tribe alone but of all the Germans³⁹.

A practice thus common to the Gothic nations, and derived by them from their forefathers⁴⁰, would naturally be extended over the countries they subdued, and be established with their language and their laws. We have several records of its observance in the monarchy of France.—Pharamond, the first king of the Franks, was placed on a shield when he received his office (A. D. 420). Of Childeric it is said by an emi-

³⁷ "*Deligebatur igitur apud nostros dux, primum à multitudine in publico concilio, sententiis collatis: dilectus deinde scuto imponebatur, atque in sublimè humeris sustinentium elevatus, in gyrumque circumlatus, dux belli decreti salutabatur.*"—Cluverii *Germ. Antiq.* lib. i. p. 367.

³⁸ "*Impositusque scuto, more gentis, et sustinentium humeris vibratus, dux deligitur.*"—Tacit. *Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 15,

³⁹ "*Mores gentis non Balavæ tantum, vel Caninefatis, sed universum Germanorum.*"—Cluverii *Germ. Antiq.* lib. i. p. 366.

⁴⁰ "*Apud Cassiodorum, varior. lib. x. Gothorum, Fistula cæcis quandam accolentium, rex: Indicamus, parentis nostros Gothos, inter prævinciales gladios more majorum scuto supposito, regalem nobis contu-*

nent French writer, "*ce prince étoit fort jeune quand il fut élevé sur les boucliers des soldats François; c'étoit chez cette nation la seule cérémonie de l'inauguration des rois*."⁴¹ The chairing of Gunbald king of Burgundy (A.D. 500) was performed with rather more zeal than caution: being carried for the third time round the assembled people, the sovereign fell from his "high estate," and was with difficulty kept from descending to the earth⁴².

Clovis (A.D. 481), who is also said to have received the regal unction, appears with more certainty to have been inaugurated in the antient Frankish method. Gregory of Tours writes of his elevation on a shield, and of the popularity of his election⁴³. Pepin at his accession to the throne in 751 was raised upon the target⁴⁴; in 754 he is said to have been anointed and crowned in the church of St Denis,

hæc, præstante Deo, dignitatem, ut honorem arma darent, cui opinionem bella poperarent."—*Ibid.*

⁴¹ Boulainvilliers, *Mem. Histor.* p. 6. fol.

⁴² "*Parmæ superpositus, rex est elevatus. Sed, quàm tertio cum eo gyrarent, cecidisse fertur ita, uti vix manibus circumstantium sustentari potuisset.*"—Greg. Turon. *Hist.* lib. vii. cap. 10. "*Evocatum Gundobaldum, more antiquorum Francorum, regem proclamantes esse suum, elevaverunt eum clypeo; quumque tertio totum cum eo circumissent exercitum, repente rucens rex vix à terrâ elevari potuit.*"—Aimoinus, l. iii. c. 6. See also Montfauc. *Monum. de la Monarchie Fr.* Disc. Prel. § 1.

⁴³ "*At illi ista audientes, plaudentes iam palmis quàm vocibus, cum clypeo euctum, super se regem constituent.*"—*Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 40.

⁴⁴ Menestay, *Hist. de Pepin le Bref.*

and from this time it is probable that the antient form fell into desuetude⁴⁵.

It was the custom in Navarre that both the king and queen, after being anointed, should set their feet on a shield emblazoned with the arms of the kingdom and supported on six staves, each end of which was held by a nobleman. In this manner they were thrice lifted up before the high altar of the cathedral church⁴⁶.

In an antient law of Don Pelayo one of the Gothic kings of Spain, *Como han de levantar rey en España*, &c. are the following directions for the creation of their kings: Let the king be chosen and admitted in the metropolitan city of this kingdom, or at least in some cathedral church, and the night before he is exalted let him watch all night in the church, and the next day when they come to lift him up, let him

⁴⁵ In addition to the authorities already quoted concerning election and elevation in France, see Hotoman's *Franco-Gallia*, ch. vi.

⁴⁶ *Hist. des Inaugurations des Rois*, &c. pp. 51, 55.

⁴⁷ Ambrosio Morales, *Coron. Gen. de España*, l. xiii. c. 2.

“Real, real, real, disiendo todos,

Segun costumbre antigua de los Godos.”

Ch. de Messa, *Restauracion de España*, quoted in

Mr. Southey's *Roderic*.

⁴⁸ “Hunc morem Romani quoque milites à Germanis didicerunt, unde illud Herodiani, sub finem lib. viii. ‘Αἰχμὴν δὲ τῶν Γερμανῶν, νικητὴν ἔραν, αὐτοκρατορὴν ἀνέστησαν. Sic et Capitolinus, in *Maximo ac Balbino*, ‘Gordianus Cæsar sublatus à militibus imperator est appellatus.’ De *Juliano*, *Am. Marcellinus*, libro xx. ‘Impositus scuto pedestri et sublatus eminens Augustus renuntiat.’ De

step upon a buckler or target, and the chief and principal men there present hold the target, and so lifting him up, let the people cry with a loud voice, *Real! real! real!*⁴⁷

Imperial Rome was likewise an imitator of the barbarous North in the forms of conferring royalty. The emperors Gordianus and Julianus are said to have been elevated by their soldiers⁴⁸.

In the Greek empire the same custom was adopted and long retained⁴⁹. Those who have written of the coronation of the eastern emperors tell us that the new elect was first placed on a shield, the forepart of which was supported by the father (in case an emperor crowned his successor) assisted by the patriarch; the hinder part, by the princes or chief nobles; and that thus they raised him aloft to the view of the people, who made their acclamations. Afterwards when he alighted, they conducted him to the church of St. Sophia in order to his coronation⁵⁰.

eodem Zosimus, lib. iii. 'Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀσπίδος περὶ τῶν ἡγευτῶν ἀνίσταντο Σουλῶν ἀνταρῶντα.'—Cluverii Germ. Ant. lib. iii. p. 367.

⁴⁹ "Sed et in Græciâ postea hæsit. Zonaras, in Vitâ Justiniani, de Hypatio, seditiosè contra Justinianum electo: Καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδι αὐτὸν μεταφέρειν ἡγευτῶν, ἀνυπακούοντι βασιλῆα. Et Curopalates, De Officiis Aulæ: 'Ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ σκευῆς κατιστῆς ἰσχυρίζεται ἐς ὅψος. Nicephorus Gregoras, lib. iii. de Theodoro, Ducæ filio: 'Ἀνυπακούοντο δὲ ὁρῶντες βασιλεὺς πλεὶς ἰσχυρῶν τῶν βασιλῶν ἀγάντων, κατιστῆς ἐπὶ ἀσπίδος, κατὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις ἰσχυροῦν ἴδιος.'—Cluver. loc. cit.

⁵⁰ The particulars of the ceremony are in Cantacuzenus, quoted in the *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, v. "Sub horam porro dici maxime

From what hath been said above of the observance of this mode of inauguration among other tribes of German or Gothic origin, it may be expected that similar records are to be found in our own nation. I have not however been able to discover any positive evidence of an English elevation of kings; and when it is considered that such a custom would only have existed during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, when our countrymen had scarcely learned to perpetuate in writing their manners and their history, we shall not much wonder at a deficiency which leaves us to probabilities and conjecture.

It is the opinion of Dr. Gilbert Stuart that this ceremony "prevailed doubtless among the Anglo-Saxons⁶¹." To this opinion we may probably assent when we remember the likeness of other customs of our forefathers to those of their kindred tribes on the continent. The veneration of all these for the same kingly family, their common exercise of the right of election in filling the vacant throne, and their careful limitation of the sovereign power, all would bespeak a common form of conferring it. To these conjectures may be added a few facts which show that our

secundam, imperatore inungendo super scutum elevato, imperator parens renunciati imperatoris, si superest, et patriarcha anteriora scuti apprehendentes, latera autem et posteriora, qui dignitate antistant despolæ et sebastocratores, si sunt, alioqui principum nobilissimi; ipsumque cum scute in altum quantum possunt tollentes, undique circumfuso populo ostentant."

⁶¹ *Historical Dissertation*, p. 159.

Kings were in some way lifted up for the view and homage of the crowd. Eardwulf, king of Northumberland, was "to his cme-rcle ABOFEN"⁵²: the coronation of Athelstan (which is said by P. Vergil to have been "*more majorum*") was celebrated in the market-place at Kingston upon a stage erected on high, that the king might be better seen of the multitude⁵³.

Our theory may also derive some confirmation from what seems to be a vestige of the practice in question still existing amongst us;—the elevation or chairing of our representatives in Parliament; which honour may have been transferred from the sovereign to the senator, by its use at the creation of the Anglo-Saxon earls or aldermen. At the elections for the county of Norfolk, for Norwich, Yarmouth, &c. this custom is invariably observed⁵⁴. In the city just named the candidate, standing erect on a platform, is carried on men's shoulders three times round the place of election, and is frequently tost by them into the air. Those who have seen this ceremony will not fail to be struck with the words, already referred to, of a Roman historian, "*impositus scuto et sustinentium humeris VIBRATUS*;" the exact agreement of which with the yet remaining practice will scarcely allow

⁵² *Chron. Sax. an. 795.*

⁵³ Stow, an. 924. Doleman's

Conference, p. 145.

⁵⁴ It is worth remark that where the custom of chairing prevails there is generally no husting; where the members are elevated on a husting, chairing is not practised.

us to doubt that the elevation of kings, here as well as in the other countries above mentioned, was the original mode of their inauguration.

I shall trespass a little further on the reader's patience by touching briefly on the creation of kings by setting them on an elevated stone, which was the custom of the Scandinavian nations, the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes; and the rather, as it will tend to illustrate the history and use of a monument of royalty still employed in our coronations, and which will hereafter be particularly noticed⁵⁵.

The practice of these nations was to form a circle of large stones, commonly twelve in number, in the middle of which one was set up much larger than the rest; this was the royal seat, and the nobles occupied those surrounding it, which served also as a barrier to keep off the people who stood without. Here the

⁵⁵ I would not be understood as deducing our use of the stone seat from the Scandinavian people. Our customs and ceremonies are generally inherited from the north, but the Fatal Stone on which our kings are crowned was brought from a Celtic nation. It must be regarded as a casual addition to our coronation ceremony.

⁵⁶ "*Lecturi regem veteres affixis humo saxis insistere, suffragaque promerere, consueverant; subjectorum lapidum firmitate facti constantiam ominaturi.*"—Saxo-Grammat. lib. i. See also the note of Stephanus on the passage.

⁵⁷ *De Gent. Sept.* lib. i. et viii.

⁵⁸ Olaf Wormii *Dan. Monum.* p. 90. Borlase's *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 206.

⁵⁹ The kings of Denmark are still inaugurated at this place.—Menin.

leading men of the kingdom delivered their suffrages, and placed the elected king on his seat of dignity⁵⁶. Of this kind was the *morastén* near Upsal in Sweden, described by Olaus Magnus⁵⁷. On this stone Eric was made king of Sweden no longer since than the year 1396⁵⁸.

As Denmark was for a long time divided into three kingdoms, we find there three monuments of this kind; one near Lunden in Scania⁵⁹, the other, called *kongstolen*, at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland.

The custom above described is said to have existed in Germany till the reign of Charles IV. and the Golden Bull, *A.D.* 1356⁶⁰. We trace it also very near to us in Shetland, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, all of which were long under the dominion of the Norwegians. In these, Dr. Borlase informs us, the circle of stones "is called *ting*, that is, a seat of justice, a forum. The hill on which the king of Man was formerly inaugurated, standing in the centre of a circle, (his nobles round him, and the commons without the circle) is called *Tinwald-hill*⁶¹." In the island of Loch-Finlagan "there was a big stone of

⁵⁶ Bernhardus Malincrot *de Archicancellariis*, p. 185. Olaus Wormius, p. 88.

⁶¹ *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 193. "*Ting-wall* signifies the place of convention. The spot where the Parliament of Iceland met bore the same name."—Johnston's *Antiq. Cælo-Norm.* App. p. 151.

seven foot square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Mack-Donald, for he was crown'd king of the Isles standing in this stone⁶²."

We may observe that a similarly rude enthronement to that of the Northmen is to be found among the Celtic tribes. That the kings both of Scotland and Ireland were placed on a stone at the time of their election we have the testimony of the antiquaries of those nations. It is remarkable that the SAME stone was transferred from the less to the larger isle for the same national purpose: in the second book I shall attempt the history of the "fatal stone" of Tara. As this is probably a Celtic monument, it will of course not be classed with those of Scandinavia; but it will afford a curious instance of the wide diffusion of a most antient practice, which may be said still to form part of the inauguration of our English kings⁶³.

⁶² Martin's *Description of the Isles*, p. 240.

⁶³ A custom somewhat similar to that above described appears to have prevailed in the East. The antient patriarchs erected stone pillars, which, having been consecrated to the purposes of religion, were also dedicated to the most important national affairs, and especially the creation of kings. In the Jewish history we have many instances: at Mizpah Jephtha was invested with the government of Gilead; at the stone of Shechem, erected by Joshua, Abimelech was made king; Adonijah, by the stone of Zeheleth; and Jehoash was "crowned king standing by a pillar as the manner was." The erection of stone circles, as places of election, where the principal persons stood each

§ 5. *Origin of the ceremonies of Unction and Coronation.*

AMONG the effects produced by the spread of Christianity through the Europæan nations was the zealous affectation of laws, customs, and political maxims derived from the people of Judæa, and forming part of the Mosaic system of religion. The sacred character which was given by all Christian converts to the Scriptures of the Old as well as the New Testament would insensibly communicate a sanctity to things neither enjoined nor contemplated in the dispensation of the Gospel; and it was deemed a sufficient reason for adopting the most foreign practices that they were recorded in the Bible, and commented on by the Fathers⁶⁴. By the operation of these causes were the customs described in the last section gradually superseded by more refined and awful ceremonies. The

by his pillar, with a middle stone for the prince, as Dr. Borlase observes, "seems to be a very antient custom, and is spoken of as such before the Babylonish captivity." The same writer adds, "It was also the custom to stand upon stones placed in a circular manner, and shaped for that purpose, as so many pedestals to elevate the nobles above the level of the rest; consequently such stones (however rude) were of different shape, and are therefore carefully to be distinguished from the abovementioned columnar stones erect, by the side of which the kings stood, and upon which it cannot be supposed that any one ever intended to stand."—*Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 205.

⁶⁴ That the civil magistrate should receive readily these religious innovations is no great matter of wonder. "When the zeal of the popes,"

nations of the North and West learned to encircle the brow of their king with the diadem, to place the sceptre in his hand, to sanctify his person with the consecrated unction, and to confirm his authority with the benedictions of the clergy. Such marks of honour the kings of Christendom were eager to enjoy; and the possession of them was yielded to the most favoured sons of the church⁶⁵.

From what hath already been said the use of these new forms of inauguration may be sufficiently accounted for, but their history and antiquity deserve more particular notice.

That the ceremonies of unction and coronation were derived from the same source, and that they jointly existed in *Judæa*, will be plain from the following citation from the sacred writings, referring to the young Jehoiash. "And Jehoiada brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him, and they clapped their hands and said God save the king." We find also in the same passage the administration of a coronation oath, and the ceremony of inthroning. "Jehoiada made a covenant

says Mr. Turner, "had completed the conversion of the island, and an hierarchy was established, the kingly power received great support and augmentation from the religious veneration with which the clergy surrounded it."—*Hist. of the A. Sax.* b. iv. ch. 3.

⁶⁵ I allude to those titles of *filius major ecclesiæ*, attributed to the emperor, *filius minor* to the king of France, and *filius tertius et adop-*

between the LORD and the king and the people, that they should be the LORD's people; between the king also and the people.... And he took the rulers over hundreds, and the captains, and the guard, and all the people of the land; and they brought down the king from the house of the LORD, and came by the way of the gate of the guard to the king's house; and he sate on the throne of the kings⁶⁶."

Let us consider more particularly, first, the use of UNCTION: on which subject, as on many others, I avail myself of the learning of Mr. Selden. "For the use of oil or unction at coronations, to omit that which may be drawn from the making even inanimate things sacred by powring oil on them, both among the Gentiles and Jews, whereof there is large testimony as well in holy as prophane writers, it will be plain that anointing of kings was of such known use in the eldest times, that solemnly to declare one to be a king, and to anoint a king, in the eastern parts, were but synonymies. So is it denoted in Jotham's speech to the Israelites long before any example of anointing is elsewhere remember'd.—And this was about 200 years before the beginning of their kingdom in Saul, who with his successors were anointed, as was also

tious to the king of England. Some indeed have claimed *primogenitus* for England on the ground of Lucius the Briton being the first Christian potentate; but this honour could hardly descend from him to any of the English nation.

⁶⁶ 2 Kings, xi. 12, 17, 19.

the king of Syria, Hazael⁹⁷; and Cyrus king of Persia in the holy prophecies is called The Lord's Anointed, which is a frequent expression of kings in the Scripture⁹⁸."

"From these examples in the holy story the kings of Christendom took their custom of being anointed⁹⁹; touching which in general, and for what hath been conceived to be understood by it, '*inunguntur reges*' (saith Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury) '*in capite, etiam pectore et brachiis, quod significat gloriam, sanctitatem, et fortitudinem.*' And it was long since said in our law (33 Edw. III. tit. *Aide de Roy*, 103) and applied to our kings, that '*Reges sancto oleo uncti sunt spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces.*' King Henry III. of England, being desirous to know what was wrought in a king by his unction, consulted by letter about it with that great scholar of the age, Robert Grossetest, bishop of Lin-

⁹⁷ By the command of God, as we read in 1 Kings, xiv. 15; "And the Lord said unto him, (Elijah) Anoint Hazael to be king of Syria."

⁹⁸ The reader will find many curious particulars of the Jewish unction in the *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. viii. from whence these passages are taken.

⁹⁹ That the custom of unction was antiently considered as derived from the Jews appears from the following words of Manasses, an author of the eastern empire, when speaking of Charlemagne. Leo, he says, crowned Charles,

"_____ ὡς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι νόμιμα.

Οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ, χρησάμενος καὶ νόμοις Ἰουδαίων,

Ἐν πεφαιγμένῳ μίχρῳ ποδῶν ἱλαίῳ τῶντον χρίει.

Οὐκ οἶδεν τίσι λογισμοῖς ἢ ποίους ἱστορίας."

that is, as the custom of the Romans required. But also following

coln, who answered him almost as if his mind had been only on the unction and ceremony used in the church of Rome in confirmation; and some other have conceived this anointing of such efficacy, that as in baptisme all former sins are washt away, so also by this unction."

"For that of Grossetest" (in the answer above mention'd) "'*cum multi sint reges qui nullatenus unctionis munere decorentur,*' it is true that we have it very obvious among the lawyers that there were antiently but four anointed beside the emperours; that is, the kings of Hierusalem, of France, of England, and of Sicily. And this they have out of the old *Provinciale Romanum*, the written copies whereof are various in the enumeration of the kings that were supposed to be not anointed, but they are for the most part constant to the four for the kings anointed⁷⁰.—But whatsoever the custom antiently were" (con-

the custom of the Jews, he anointed him with oil from head to foot. But what his reason or fancy was in doing so I know not.

⁷⁰ "In my copy" (says Mr. Selden) "it is thus:—

De Regibus Catholicorum et Christianorum.

Et sunt quidam coronandi et quidam non. Tamen illi qui coronantur debent inungi; et tales habent privilegium ab antiquo et de consuetudine; alio modo non debent coronari nec inungi sine istis; et si faciunt ipsi, abutuntur indebitè. Et sic incipiunt nomina regum Christianorum fidelium hoc modo:

Rex Hierosolymitanus coronatur et inungitur.

Rex Francorum Christianissimus coronatur et inungitur.

Rex Anglorum coronatur et inungitur.

Rex Siciliæ coronatur et inungitur.

Then follows a catalogue of divers others with *non* at the end of every

cludes Mr. Selden) "the use of unction is now become general to the kings of Christendom, and of so long time since to some other of them, that the credit of the Provincial of Rome and of them that follow it is no other than as the testimonies of several kingdoms will stand with it"⁷¹."

We shall now inquire as to the time at which unction was introduced among the several European nations.

"In the EMPIRE (as it is conceived by some) it began first at Constantinople, and that about Justinian's or his successour Justin's time." "But I believe it will not appear that this anointing was very antient there, nor find I warrant enough for any such thing in Justin's time"⁷². They that suppose it so antient there draw the use of it from thence into the Western Empire, where it began in Charles the Great, although before his being emperor it were used to some kings of the western parts"⁷³." In the Western Empire it hath continued from Charles the Great till this day"⁷⁴.

name." &c.—*Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, i. We find the same distinction in the treatise of Paris de Puteo, *De Re Militari*, (lib. vii. quest. 5.) "*Ex quatuordecim regibus Christianorum, aliqui coronantur et unguntur a papa ut est serenissimus rex francie, rex Hierosolimitanus, rex Sicilie, et rex Anglie, et non alij, nisi habent ex consuetudine vel privilegio.*" We learn from the same writer that it was formerly disputed "*An alij reges qui non coronantur possint prouocare ad pugnam in singulari certamine reges coronatos.*"—*Ibid.*

The use of unction in FRANCE has been asserted by the historians of that country to be more antient than in any other kingdom; and they repeat with great faith a tradition of holy oil being given from Heaven for the consecration of Clovis by St. Remigius. "But the truth is, they have not warrant enough to prove that either any oyl came from Heaven for king Chlovis, or if it did, that it was imploied about anointing him king. Divers good authours of the antients that speak of him tell us that he was baptized by Remigius, without a word of any oyl sent him. And Aimoinus, Hincmar, and whosoever else speak of the viol of oyl refer it only to his baptisme (in which it was used according to the ceremony of the time) and not at all to his inauguration⁷⁵." The first testimony indeed that is worthy of credit for any unction of their kings is that which historians give us of king Pepin, who was anointed king at Soissons about the year 750⁷⁶.

With respect to ENGLAND we may safely conjecture that the sacred rite is of as long standing in this

⁷¹ *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, i.

⁷² "It does not appear that the emperors of the East were anointed before the reign of Andronicus Junior, that is towards the 13th [14th] century."—Menin, p. 174.

⁷³ "Charlemagne had been anointed and crowned before king of Lombardy in the town of Modicia by the archbishop of Milan, in 774."—Menin, p. 179.

⁷⁴ Selden, l. c.

⁷⁵ *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, i.

⁷⁶ Selden, l. c. *Hist. des Inaugurations*, &c. p. 61.

as in other kingdoms. The reader will find in the fifth book proofs of its early adoption by our forefathers: the first English king who is recorded to have been anointed is Egferth of Mercia, in the year 785. There is indeed no reason to doubt that a ceremony which was supposed to add new grace to royalty would be early received in a country whose kings have always been amongst the most magnificent of Europe.

In noticing the unction of the kings of SCOTLAND we pass over the visit of the angel to St. Columb with the book of regal ordination, as well as the cogent argument then administered for the consecration of king Aidan⁷⁷. To descend to more modern accounts:—it is asserted by Holinshed that Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore and nephew of Edgar Ætheling, was the first king of Scotland who was anointed,—“for his mother queene Margaret purchased, a little

⁷⁷ “Qui cum secundum quod ei in libro erat commendatum, Aidannum in regem ordinare recusaret, subito angelus, extendens manum, Sanctum percussit flagello,” &c.—Adamannus De S. Columba Scoto Confessore, l. iii. c. 5. Selden, ch. 8. ⁷⁸ Hist. of Scotland.

⁷⁹ The following is the document quoted above:

“INNOCENTIUS Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio Regi Angliæ illustri, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

“Ex parte tua fuit nobis cum instantia supplicatum, ut tibi, ne carissimus in Christo filius noster rex Scotiæ illustris, absque tuo assensu inungi vel coronari posset, cum sit ligatus homo tuus, tibi que homagium fecerit, concedere curaremus. Quia vero talia concedere sedes apostolica minime consuevit, non mireris, si te non exaudivimus in hac parte: Noveris tamen quod alicui non concederemus aliquid, quod redundare crederemus in præ-

before his death, of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be anointed. This privilege was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second⁷⁸." Edgar was crowned *A.D.* 1101. Fordun mentions the consecration of Alexander III. in 1249; and it is evident from a papal bull of the time⁷⁹, that the regal unction was then known in Scotland, though in Buchanan it has the appearance of a new institution in 1330, under David II.⁸⁰

"In SPAIN," says Selden, "the first anointed king falls in the year of Christ 673. Then was king Wamba, or Bamba, (of the West Gothique race) anointed by Quirigo archbishop of Toledo. In the 12th council of Toledo, held about 680 under Ervigius, successor to Wamba, express mention also is of anointing this successor:—and to that age the Spanish writers with others refer the beginning of regal unction in the kings of Spain⁸¹."

"For anointing the kings of HUNGARY there is

judicium regie dignitatis." &c.—*Dat. Lugdun. octavo id. Aprilis, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.*"—*A.D.* 1251, 35 Hen. III. Rymer, vol. i. 463.

⁸⁰ "Coronatio regis in octavum cal. Decemb. anni sequentis dilata est, ut Romani pontificis permissu inungeretur, ac nova illa ceremonia apud Scotos augustior videretur."

⁸¹ He continues—"But for Arragon, that of cardinal Hostiensis, the great canonist, is observable. '*Si quis rex inungi nova consuetudine velit, usus et mos obtinuit ut id à Romano pontifice petat, sicut fecit rex Arragonum.*' He wrote about the year 1260. More of anointing there you may see in Valdesius, Majolus, and Azorius, beside the Spanish histories of the succeeding times."—*Titles of Honor*, part L. ch. 8, i.

example in the coronation of Uladislauſ II. reported by Bonfinius. He was king alſo of Bohemia, and under that name anointed: for in the Golden Bull of the emperor Charles IV. given about 1350, touching the electors, the chief place is confirm'd to the king of Boheme, *cum ſit princeps coronatus et unctus*⁸²."

Since the year 930, when Harold I. was converted to Chriſtianity, the kings of DENMARK have been anointed at their coronation⁸³. The firſt king of SWEDEN that is ſuppoſed to have received the unction was Eric VIII. who aſcended the throne A.D. 980. POLAND was erected into a kingdom about the year 1001 by the emperor Otho, who cauſed the reigning ſovereign of that country to be conſecrated and anointed king by the archbiſhop of Gnezna. Some time after it loſt its independence as a kingdom, which it did not recover till towards the year 1295, when Primislaus, who was choſen by the nobility, was anointed and crowned in the church of Gnezna. From the time of his ſucceſſor, however, the ceremony has been uſually performed at Cracow⁸⁴.

In treating of CROWNS and CORONATION I believe I cannot do better than preſent to the reader

⁸² *Titles of Honor, l. c.*

⁸³ In *Erici Historica Narratio*, &c., the firſt notice of coronation is A.D. 1202, in king Waldemar.—*Tractatus Varii, &c. apud Elſev. 1629, p. 86.*

⁸⁴ Menin, p. 201.

⁸⁵ Part I. chap. 8, ll.

some passages from the *Titles of Honor*⁸⁶, which will sufficiently illustrate the subject.

“For royal and imperial crowns or diadems,” (our author begins)—“however those names have been from antient time confounded, yet the diadem strictly was a very different thing from what a crown now is or was⁸⁶. And it was no other than only a fillet of silk, linnen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used for a royal ensign, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman empire.”

“The antientest mention of a royal crown is in the holy story, in that of the Amalekites bringing Saul’s crown to David⁸⁷.” It appears also that David had a crown of gold and precious stones out of the spoils of the Ammonites. Clemens Alexandrinus says generally of the royal crowns used by the kings of Juda and Israel, ‘I know that the antient kings of the Hebrews had their diadem of gold and rich stones: and this was set on their heads at their inauguration by the high priest who anointed them.’

The kings of some of the eastern nations, Mr. Sel-

⁸⁶ “From the use of crowns in sacrifices and dances sacred to idols came the name *corona*, antiently written *chorona*; and made Latin from *χορηγός*, which they will from *χορηγός* or *χορηγός*, i. e. the dancers or singers, and number of the solemnizing sacrificers.”—Selden.

⁸⁷ 2 Sam. ch. i. ver. 10.

den observes, had crowns of gold, and also fillets; as the Persian kings, whose fillets circled their heads upon a *tiara*, or long cap. "In other the antienter kingdoms," he continues, "I remember no such use of both those kinds of crowns; but the diadem or the fillet alone is obviously in good authors given to the kings of Pontus, Armenia, Parthia, Lydia, Phrygia, and others of those parts, where the tying on of it was the chief part of the inauguration⁸⁸."

In the Roman empire the laurel or fillet was an usual mark of dignity, and soon after the time of Aurelian it became a principal ensign of the empire. Under Constantine the Great this was superseded by a new kind of ornament; "Nor," says our author, "was it so fit for him any longer to wear the laurel that had so demolished the temples of Apollo to whom it is known so sacred. Therefore to imitate rather the fashion of the kings of the Jews (some of which were types of that great king for whose service Constantine had at length professed his name) he took the diadem of gold and stones, and was the first thus that used any of that kind." Afterward it was "in-

⁸⁸ The origin of crowns in these antient nations is thus treated of by a learned Benedictine, whose work I have before quoted. After observing that as mankind dispersed and formed new settlements, they selected some chief for his bodily or mental superiority, as their governor, this writer continues "*L'inauguration de ce nouveau chef ou roi commenca par des actes de religion. On invoqua le secours de l'Etre suprême, en le priant d'agréer le choix qu'on venoit de faire; ensuite un*

creast with additions of other parts that went from eare to eare over the crown of the head; and at length over a gold helm on a cap, which made it somewhat like the close crowns of later time worn upon caps."

"But although the ordinary use of the royal crown or diadem (as the words are confounded) were as antient in the empire as Constantine, and though it were, after him, born by his successours, and put on at their taking the empire, as the crown at this day at the inauguration of Christian kings, yet this difference appears, that until the emperour Justin the yonger the solemn putting on the diadem was done only either by the imperial guard, or such as had power to supply them in their usual way of making emperours, or else by the preceding emperour in designing his successour or crowning his empress. And the first that appears infallibly to be crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople was Justin the yonger that succeeded Justinian."

In the Western empire the use of coronation began with Charles the Great. And as the patriarch of Constantinople crowned the eastern emperors, so those

ancien chef de famille, pour lui faire comprendre qu'il devoit imiter Dieu, dont il n'étoit que l'image, lui posoit sur la tête le cercle radieux, symbole de l'Etre suprême. Cette couronne l'avertissoit de ne se servir du pouvoir que le peuple venoit de lui confier, que pour le rendre heureux. Telle est l'origine du diadème que les rois ont toujours porté."—*Histoire des Inaugurations des Rois, Empereurs*, 8c. 8vo. p. 4.

of the West were used to receive their third coronation from the pope at St. Maurice's altar in St. Peter's church at Rome.

The use of crowns and coronations thus deduced from Constantine the Great was an example which the rest of the kings of Europe followed. The kings of France had crowns in their inaugurations before the beginning of the Western empire; and it is likely enough that this use of a crown there was equal with their use of royal unction. Among the English kings, Geffrey of Monmouth says that king Athelstan first used it. Ethelwerd, a writer of the Saxon times, speaking of king Edward next predecessor to Athelstan, uses these words of him,—“*coronatur ipse stemmate regali à primatis electus*”⁸⁰.

To what hath been said of the first use of crowns in the creation of kings I shall add a few words on the origin of another chief ensign of royalty, the SCEPTRE.

“It is most clear,” saith Selden, “that both in prophane and holy writers the scepter is much antienter (as it was attributed to a king) than either crown or diadem. In Homer we have *σκηπτουχοι βασι-*

⁸⁰ Of the crowns of our English kings more will be found in the following book, where the history of the *regalia* is considered.

⁸⁰ *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, iii.

ἀντες, or kings with scepters, but none with crowns; and the old Ægyptians in their hieroglyphick expressions understood Osiris by the shape of a scepter with an eye on it." "The most eminent antient and sacred use of a royal scepter in prophane writers is thus plain enough. But it is of far elder memory, as a word denoting a king or supreme governour in the holy text. The scepter shall not depart from Judah, &c. until Shiloh come, saith Jacob: that is, a king or supreme governour, as it is commonly interpreted, especially by the rabbins⁹⁰."

The use of sceptres, which with that of crowns hath long been common to the Europæan kingdoms, is very antient in our own. In the Saxon coronation service there is a form of delivery for this ensign of royalty; and if *scapton aureum* may be so interpreted, a golden sceptre was among the presents from St. Gregory to king Ethelbert⁹¹.

§ 6. *Of the Coronation of Queens.*

BEFORE this introductory book is concluded we will inquire what share the consorts of our kings have antiently enjoyed in the honours of their inauguration. But first as to the title QUEEN, it may be ob-

⁹¹ He is also said to have received *armigaisia oloserica*, which is understood of a dalmatic or royal robe.—See Mrs. Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily*, Append. p. 41.

served that the word signifies merely a wife or woman, yet it hath come by eminency to denote the wife only of a king¹². Thus in old authorities we find this expression—‘the king’s queen;’ though the title hath long been used absolutely in its present sense, and as synonymous with the Latin *regina*, the customary designation of our queens in that language.

The Teutonic tribes from whom we descend entertained a laudable respect for the character of their women, and the wife of the chieftain shared the rank and honours of her husband. But the primitive form of the creation of kings was too much devoid of “gentle usage and soft delicacy” to be participated by their consorts; and it was not till after the ceremonies of unction and coronation were adopted that these could be publicly initiated in the honours of royalty. The coronation of queens, however, though performed with the same solemnity as that of kings, is not to be regarded in the same political view, or to be considered as of the same importance. Its object is to confer a sanctity of character on her, who is the wife and the

¹² Queen, *qpen*, *quena*, is from the Gothic *QENS*, or *QENS*; in the Cimbric it is *QNH* or *QNH*, which is thought to be connected with the Greek *γυνή*, and Armenian *սոր*: as it may also be with the Persian *کنیز* or perhaps *کنیسه*. The dignity of rank and birth is more expressed by *hlædiz*, lady, which is an antient title of female sovereignty in England; thus, among other instances of its use, *Ethelseda*, queen of Mercia, is called *Æþelplæd Wýpcna hlædiz*; and in later times the empress Matilda, when assuming the government, styled herself *Do-*

mother of kings, and to admit her to the honours of her exalted station.—An attempt hath been made in a late anonymous pamphlet⁹³, which abounds more in gratuitous reasoning than historical deduction, to represent the coronation of the English queen as an acknowledgement of a right of succession in her issue, and as “a recognition of her constitutional character *as essential* as that of the monarch himself.” Of these doctrines, however, a sufficient refutation may be derived from the following obvious considerations: 1st, that the observance or omission of this coronation never was or could be held to influence the right of inheritance of the legitimate issue of a royal marriage. 2dly, the coronation of the king is essential inasmuch as it is a political act; in that of the queen, however, no such character can be discovered: no consent is asked from the people as to the person to be crowned; no conditions are required from her; no oath is administered; no homage or allegiance is offered. The queen’s coronation, though performed at the same place, and usually on the same day with that of the sovereign, is a subsequent and distinct solemnity; it precedes from the king⁹⁴, and

mina Anglorum. The antient Franks used the title *cuninginna*, as a feminine derivative from *cuning*; the Saxons, however, did not adopt it.

⁹³ *Some Inquiry into the Constitutional Character of the Queen Consort*, 8vo. See also the *Edinburgh Review* for Sept. 1814.

⁹⁴ The Roman Pontifical contains the following form for the king’s

is granted to his consort for the honour of the kingly office.

Among the Romans the wife of their emperor had the title *Augusta*, which was always conferred with some ceremonies, and latterly by that of coronation⁹⁵.—In Germany the empress is both crowned and anointed. The same honour is now common to the wives of European sovereigns. Those of France are not crowned with the kings, but at the abbey of St Denis, near Paris⁹⁶.

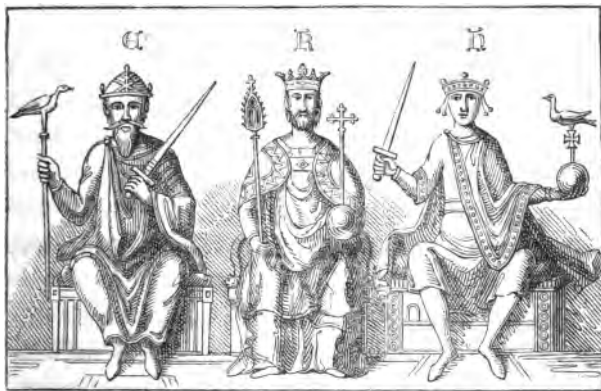
The consorts of our English princes have been graced with "all the royal makings of a queen" from very early times. Before the Conquest they were anointed and crowned, and sate with the kings in seats of state. Of the time when these honours were first allowed to them more will be said in the latter pages of this work⁹⁷.

demanding of the archbishop the coronation of his consort: "*Reverendissime pater, postulamus ut consortem nostram nobis à Deo conjunctam benedicere et corona reginali decorare dignemini, ad laudem et gloriam Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.*"—Selden, ch. 8, v.

⁹⁵ See the *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 6, vii.

⁹⁶ An account hath been preserved of the coronation of Bertha, wife of king Pepin, which is probably the first of a queen in that country.—See *Hist. des Inaugurations*, &c. pp. 50, 68.

⁹⁷ See the coronation of Judith in book V.



BOOK II.

REGALIA. CORONATION CHAIR—AMPULLA—CROWNS—SCETRES—SAINT EDWARD'S STAFF—ORB—SWORDS—RING—BRACELETS—SPURS—ROYAL VESTMENTS.

THE design of the following book is to give some account of those ensigns of power and dominion the delivery of which invests the possessor with sovereign authority. The antiquity of the most common of these royal ornaments hath been briefly developed in the foregoing pages; but as the *regalia* will be frequently mentioned in subsequent parts of this work, it is thought necessary to give a previous description of them in this place.

In England the *regalia*, properly so called, are
 The Crown, The Sceptre,
 The Virge, or rod of power,
 The Orb or Mound of sovereignty,
 The Sword of mercy, *Curtana*,
 The two Swords of justice,
 The Ring of alliance with the kingdom,
 The *Armilla* or Bracelets, The Spurs of chivalry,
 with sundry sacred and royal vestments.

The Golden Eagle and the Coronation Chair will also claim our attention ; and as the latter is the only one of these royal monuments which can boast an undoubted antiquity, I shall give it the first place among the present subjects of inquiry.

§ 1. *Of the Coronation Chair and Stone.*

THE Chair on which our kings sit to receive the crown is principally remarkable for its marble seat,

¹ Of this Gathelus a long account may be found in Holinshed's *Historie of Scotland*. He is there said to be a Greek, "the sonne of Cecrops who builded the citie of Athens." Leaving Greece he resided some time in Ægypt, and married Scota the daughter of king Pharaoh; but being alarmed at the denunciations of Moses, who was then in the land of Ægypt, he sailed with many followers and landed in Spain, where he "builded a citie which he named Brigantia," now Compostella. After much opposition from the native Spaniards the historian relates that "Gathelus hauing peace with his neighbors sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, wherè he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse,

which hath acquired no trivial fame from the pens of old historians. Their legends inform us that this is the very stone on which the patriarch Jacob laid his head in the plain of Luz; that it was brought from Ægypt into Spain by Gathelus the supposed founder of the Scottish nation¹; that it was thence transported into Ireland "amongst other princelie iewells and regall monuments" by Simon Brech, who was crowned upon it about 700 years before the birth of Christ, and that it was thence carried to Scotland by king Fergus 330 years before the same æra. After such adventures it will not be surprising that the stone should once more be removed, and find its way to the abbey of Westminster².

Such are the legends relating to the Fatal Stone. But its probable history is so remarkable, and is carried back to a period so remote, that the aid of fiction was scarcely wanting to procure it reverence and regard. Mr Toland³ justly styles this "the antientest

This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, following it, that wheresoeuer it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen receiued the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the First king of Scotland."—Holinshed, *Hist. of Scotland*, (*Gathelus*.)

¹ Let not the gentle reader be amazed at the travels of our marble seat; in the metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester he may read how the massy pillars of Stonehenge were conveyed not only from Ireland to their present site, but from the furthest parts of Africa to the hill of Kildar!

² *History of the Druids*, p. 104.

respected monument in the world, for tho some others may be more antient as to duration, yet thus superstitiously regarded they are not."

The object of our inquiries may undoubtedly be traced to Ireland⁴. It was most probably one of those stones which the druids or priests of the country were used to consecrate for particular sacred or political purposes: its place was the hill of Tara, and upon it the kings of Ireland for many ages received their authority. The Irish names of the stone were *ljag-fájl*, or the fatal stone, and *Cloch na c-neamha*, the stone of fortune; these it probably obtained from a power which it was said to possess of showing the legitimacy of royal descent, which it acknowledged by an oracular sound when a prince of the true line was placed on it: under a pretender it was silent. The Irish have an antient prophecy respecting the stone, in these lines:

“Cjonjod rcuic raon an fjne
man ha bneag an fajrbjne
mar a bfuigjod an lja-fajl
dljgjd flajtear do gabaal⁵”

implying that the possession of it was necessary to the preservation of the regal power.

⁴ The Irish pretend to have records concerning it for two thousand years, and say that it was brought into their island by the colony of *Tuath-de-Danan*. The virtues of the stone were described in the *Book of Hoath*.—Toland, *loc. cit.* See Sir J. Ware's *Antiq. of Ireland*, by Harris, ii. pp. 10, 124: also Fordun, *Scoti-Chron.* c. 27.

It is remarkable that in later times this prophecy assumed a different form :

*“ Ni fallat Fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inveniunt lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.”*

or in the Lowland Scotch of *Wyntownis Cronykil*,

“ But gyf werdys fályhand be,
Quhare-eyr þat stáne yhe segyt se,
Dare sall þe Scottis be regnand,
And lorddys hále oure all þat land⁶.”

In either way the prediction continues to be fulfilled in that branch of the family of James I. which now fills the British throne⁷!

From Ireland the Fatal Stone was conveyed to the settlement which the people of that country had made on the north-western part of our island, from them called Scotland. Whether we receive or reject the tradition that it was brought over by Fergus, there is no doubt that the stone was removed to Scotland at a very early period, and that it was always regarded as a sacred monument by the people of that

⁵ ‘The race of Scots of the true blood, if the prophecy be not false, unless they possess the Stone of Fate shall fail to obtain regal power.’ Dr Borlase and other Celtic scholars, judging from the metre, say that these lines are not improbably of Druid original.—See *Antiq. of Cornwall*, p. 185.

⁶ B. iii. c. 9; the whole of which chapter is devoted to the history of this curious monument. See likewise the *Croniklis of Scotland* by Hector Boece, b. i. c. 2.

⁷ This prophecy is said to have reconciled many of the Scottish nation to the union with this country!

country. This opinion appears to be countenanced by the late ingenious Mr King, who says "it is clear enough that before the time of Kennith, that is, before the year 834, it had been placed simply and plainly as a stone of great import and of great notoriety in Argyleshire, and, on account of the reverence paid to it, was removed by Kennith⁹." This king, having taken it from the castle of Dunstaffnage, its antient station, placed it in the abbey-church of Scone, in the year 850¹⁰: he also inclosed it in a chair of wood, on which he caused to be engraven the Leonine distich which we have already quoted¹¹. Here all the Scottish kings were crowned upon it till the year 1296, when the victorious Edward I. brought it to England and left it as an offering of conquest at the shrine of the Confessor, where it is still preserved¹².

By the treaty of Northampton in 1328, which was confirmed by Parliament, it was agreed that the stone should be returned to Scotland: and for this end writs were issued by Edward III., which however were

⁹ *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 118.

¹⁰ "King Kenneth," saith our historian Holinshed, "having destroyed the Pictish kingdome, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Ferguse out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had béene diligentlie kept) into Gourie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thencefoorth as a sacred token for th' establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had

never executed. After its arrival in England, Edward I. caused it to be placed in a new chair with a step, richly painted and adorned with gilding. In the wardrobe account of that king under the year 1300 are the sums which were then laid out upon it, amounting to 1*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*—a considerable expense in those days. In order to illustrate the dignity of the relique, and to celebrate “the crested pride of the First Edward,” a tablet was suspended near the chair with the following inscription,

*“Si quid habent veri vel chronica cana fidesve
 Clauditur hac cathedra nobilis ecce* lapis (III, BACK R. III.
 Ad caput eximius Jacob quondam patriarcha
 Quem posuit cernens numina mira poli:
 Quem tulit ex Scotis spolians quasi victor honoris
 Edwardus Primus, Mars velut armipotens,
 Scotorum domitor, noster validissimus Hector,
 Anglorum decus, et gloria militiæ.”*

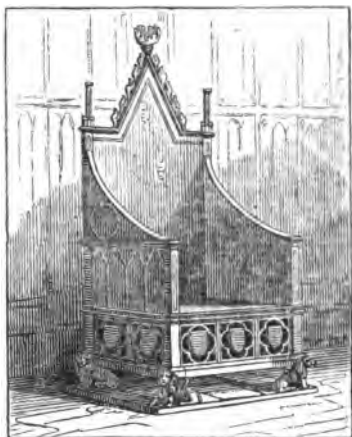
But this has long since shared the fate of many other written memorials with which the abbey abounded.

with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place.”—*Hist. of Scotland*, (Kenneth.)

¹¹ Mr Pennant, in his *Tour to the Hebrides* (ii. 409), has published an engraving of an antient ivory carving found in the ruins of Dunstaffnage, representing a king sitting in this chair, with a book in his hand.

¹² “In this chier,” saith Hector Boece, “all kingis of Scotland war ay crownit quhil y^e tyme of kyng Robert Bruse. In quhais tyme beryde mony othir cruelteis done be kyng Edward lang schankis the said chier of merbyll wes talkin be Inglismen and brocht out of Scone to London and put in to Westmonistar quhare it remanis to our

The coronation chair is of oak, of an architectural design, and ornamented on the back and sides with rows of pointed arches, the form of which confirms the reported age of this venerable relique.



Some remains are yet to be seen of the painting and gilding with which it was once adorned. It is

dayis."—*Cron. of Scotland*, b. i. c. 2. The following authentic notice of the stone is from the wardrobe account of Edward I.

"*Jocalia remanencia in fine anni xxvij^m de jocalibus que fuerunt quondam regis Scocie, inventis in castro de Edeneburgh anno xxv^{to} videlicet, Ciphus argenti, &c. Una PETRA MAGNA super quam reges Scocie solent coronari.*"—*Liber Quotidianus*, &c. 4to. p. 353. See also *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 468.

Mr Camden thus records the existence of the stone in his time : —"*Quod quidem solium adhuc in hac regiâ capellâ servatur, cum saxo Jacobi, ut vocant, imposito.*"—See *Gentleman's Mag.* vol. li. lii.

in height about six feet seven inches, in depth twenty-four inches, and the width of the seat withinside is twenty-eight inches. At nine inches from the ground is a frame to support the stone, upon the surface of which is the seat. The block appears to be of a reddish sand-stone, and at each end a short iron chain is fastened in it; but these are nearly concealed by the wood-work. The lover of antient art must regret that so beautiful a fabric should be exposed to external injury as well as decay, and must wish, if possible, that the chair of king Edward might rather be restored in its original style of decoration, than concealed (as the custom hath been at the time of coronations) by a covering even of the richest material¹³.

Another chair, in imitation of that above described, was made for the queen of William III. and is kept in the same place.

§ 2. *Of the Ampulla, or Golden Eagle.*

THE following curious history is recorded by some antient writers, and certainly deserves as much credit as the French tradition of the holy vial brought from heaven for the consecration of king Clovis¹⁴. While

¹³ In Strutt's *Hopda Angel-cýnnan* (vol. iii. pl. 27) is a representation of Edward II. in a chair of state, which is probably intended for that which now contains the stone.

¹⁴ The legend of the *Sainte ampoule*, used in the consecration of the

St Thomas a Becket was in banishment at Sens in France, as he was praying in a church by night to the blessed Virgin, she suddenly appeared to him with a golden eagle and a small vial of stone or glass, which she delivered to the archbishop, assuring him of the happiest effects upon those kings who should be anointed with the unction it contained ; and desiring him to give it to a monk of Poitiers, who would hide it under a large stone in the church of St Gregory. In this place the ampulla, with the eagle, which was probably made to contain it, and an account of the vision written by St Thomas, were preserved till in the reign of Edward III. they were discovered by revelation to a certain holy man, who brought the sacred vessel to the duke of Lancaster, and by him it was delivered to the Black Prince, who sent it to the Tower, to be safely kept in a strong chest. Here it was found by his son Richard II., who wished to be anointed with it : but he was told by the archbishop that it was enough for him to have once received the sacred unction, and that it ought not to be repeated ; nor was it used till the accession of Henry IV., who was honoured with it at his coronation¹⁵.

kings of France is thus recorded in Hincmar's *Life of St Remy*, ch. 21. "And behold a dove, fairer than snow, suddenly brought down a vial in his mouth, full of holy oil. All that were present were delighted with the fragrantcy of it, and when the archbishop had received it the dove vanished." Another historian is rather more particular in his relation. "When he that bore the chrism was absent, and kept off by the

The vessel which is now used to hold the consecrated oil retains the form of an eagle with the wings expanded, and standing on a pedestal. The height of the whole is near seven inches, and its weight about ten ounces. There is also a spoon, into which the oil is poured from the beak of the eagle by the officiating prelate. The spoon, as well as the eagle, is of gold, chased; and the former has four pearls in the broadest part of the handle.

§ 3. *Of the Crowns of the King and Queen.*

ST EDWARD'S CROWN, with which the act of coronation is performed, derives its name from that which is said to have been worn by the Confessor, and preserved in the abbey of Westminster. The one now used, which was made for the coronation of Charles II., is a golden crown of two arches crossing at the top, and rising from a rim or circle of gold, over a cap of crimson velvet, lined with white taffeta and turned up with ermine. The base of the arches on each side is covered by a cross pattée; between the

people, lo! suddenly no other, doubtless, than the Holy Spirit appeared in the visible form of a dove, who carrying the holy oil in his shining bill, laid it down between the hands of the minister." See Menin, p. 15. The same oil which was thus received is said to have remained ever since undiminished, as that consecrated by Moses is reported to have lasted till the captivity, or about 900 years.

¹⁵ MSS. Cotton. Faust. B. ix. &c. Walsingham, in *indl. Hen. IV.*

crosses are four *fleurs de lis* of gold, which rise out of the circle: the whole of these are splendidly enriched with pearls and precious stones. On the top, at the intersection of the arches, which are somewhat deprest, is a globe of gold surmounted by a cross pattée adorned with jewels, and particularly by three large oval pearls, one of which is on the top of the cross, and the others pendent at each limb.

Beside the national crown above described, the kings of England have a Crown of State, which is worn by them at the feast of the coronation, and on occasions of public ceremony¹⁶. It is of the same shape as the other, and differs from it only in being more profusely covered with pearls, diamonds, and other

¹⁶ Our antient kings were wont to celebrate with much magnificence the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, when the parliaments were usually held, and at these times they always appeared in their crowns of state. In the character of William I. which is given in the *Saxon Chronicle*, the writer says, "Eac he pær pære purðful, þrifa he bæp hī cýnehelm ælc zeape, ppa oxt ppa he pær on Engle-lande, on Eartpōn he hine bæp on pīn-ceartpe, on Pentecōrten on pētmýrtepe, on mibe-pīntep on Gleape-ceartpe; And þanne pæpōn mīd him ealle þa rice menn opep call Engla land, aþceþpīcopap 7 leob-bīpōpap, abbōpap 7 eoplap, þeznap 7 enīhtap."—p. 190. Of Henry I. it is recorded (*An. MCXI.*) "On þīpōn zeape ne bæp pē cýng Henp hī copōpān to Cpīrteþ mæppan, ne to Eartpōn, ne to Pentecōrten," which implies that the omission was uncommon. In Robert of Gloucester we have these lines concerning the Conqueror, p. 376,

"Pre syþe he ber croune aȝer, to Mýdewýnter at Gloucestre,
To Wýtesontýde at Westmýnstre, to Estre at Wýnceastre;
Pulke festes he wolde holde so noblyche."—&c.

jewels. The mound which supports the cross is a single aqua-marine of exquisite beauty; and in one of the crosses which adorn the rim is a ruby of wonderful size and value¹⁷. This costly covering,

“*Clara micante auro, flammisque imitante pyropo,*”

is worthy the greatness of an English king; its magnificence indeed can scarcely be conceived without its being seen.

As the kings of England are invested with the crown of St Edward, their queens are crowned with that of St EDGITHA, which is named in honour of the Confessor's consort. This crown is of the same form as those of the king; being a golden crown of two arches, on a cap of purple velvet turned up with ermine or miniver pure. It is set with diamonds of great value. The queen hath also a Crown of State which she wears returning from her coronation, and

In the romance of *Merlin* (Ellis's *Spectmens*, &c. i. 246) we find

“King Arthour bär coroun

In Cardoile that noble town.”

The writer, however, seems here to refer to his first coronation, as Robert of Gloucester does to that of Stephen, when he says, p. 445,

“A seyn Steuenes day anon þe croune vorst he bere.”

It is reported of Edward I. that “whereas the kings of England, before his time, used to wear their crown upon all solemn feast dayes, he first omitted that custome, saying merrily that crowns do rather one-rate than honour princes.”—Camden's *Remaines*, p. 259.

¹⁷ Those who love to inquire *de proprietatibus rerum* will doubtless remember Sir John Ferne's exposition of the manifold significations of the twelve principal gems which are placed in the regal diadem.—See his *Glorie of Generositie*, p. 142.

at the feast: this is like the other in form and material, but so richly embellished with diamonds and pearls that the gold is nearly concealed¹⁸. In the procession from the palace to Westminster abbey the queen bears on her head a beautiful cap of purple velvet, turned up with ermine, and encircled with a broad band of diamonds, having a string of pearls round the upper edge.

The crowns of England have been nearly of the present form from the time of James I. That of Elizabeth had the arches more elevated: in the crowns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. they are lower and more circular. The first use of these arches is ascribed to Edward IV., they appear on the coins of Henry VII. The crowns of the Plantagenets were generally circles of gold ornamented with four *fleurs de lis* or strawberry leaves, between which were generally as many pearls or small globes on raised points lower than the flowers: crosses were not introduced till the reign of

¹⁸ The crown above described is probably the same that was prepared for the queen of James II. In the history of this king's coronation I find the following note: "This crown was made up by Mr Richard Beauvoir, jeweller, in which he had the honour to please their majesties in a high degree."—p. 42. The value of all the jewels which were used in this fabric was 111,900*l*.

¹⁹ See his effigy at the head of this book.

²⁰ These and the crowns last described were distinguished by different names. "The diadem on a helm," says Mr Selden, "I conceive to be properly that which they called *cýnehelme*, as the diadem without the helm that which was their *cýnebænd* or royal fillet, for those

Henry VII., or of Richard III. The crowns of our Norman kings are of different and peculiar forms; the two Williams had a cap or helm adorned with points, and with labels hanging at each ear; and a somewhat similar crown was used by the Confessor¹⁹. Of our Anglo-Saxon kings, the earliest are represented with fillets of pearl²⁰, and some with a radiated diadem. The coins of Æthelred and Ælfred have diadems with a crescent in front: Æthelstan, and some of his successors, appear in a more regular crown, something like the coronet of our earls²¹. At this time, however, the form of the crown was subject to more variation, and can scarcely be reduced within such a general description as the limits of this work require²².

§ 4. *Of the Royal Sceptres.*

THE SCEPTRE ROYAL, which is borne in the king's right hand, is made of gold, 2 feet 9¼ inches in length.

two words with the Saxons denoted a royal ensign of the head."—*Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, ii. *Deapod-begh* and *heapod-ning* were used probably for a golden diadem.

¹⁹ That the royal crown was in early times very richly adorned appears from a *ms.* life of St Dunstan, written, as it is thought, by a contemporary author:—of the crown of king Edwy we are told "*miro metallo auri vel argenti gemmarumque vario nitore conserta splendebat.*"—*MS. Cleop.* B. 13, p. 76.

²² For more information on this subject the reader is referred to the following authorities:—Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, ii.

At the bottom it is enricht with rubies, emeralds, and small diamonds, and above the hilt for $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches is embost with precious stones: the shaft is of burnisht gold, twisted or wreathed. The top rises into a *fleur de lis* of six leaves, three of which are upright, and the others pendent; out of this flower issues a mound formed of a large amethyst garnisht with table diamonds, and upon the mound is a cross pattée of stones with a large table diamond in the midst.

The VIRGE, or Rod with the Dove, is likewise of gold, 3 feet 7 inches in length. The pomel is adorned with a circle or fillet of table diamonds, and the stem is enricht with precious stones. At the top is a globe surmounted by a cross on which is placed a dove with expanded wings: the latter is enamelled white, and the globe is encompassed with a fillet of rose diamonds. The virge is placed in the left hand of the sovereign in the investiture, and is borne before him in the concluding procession²³.

Speed's *Theatre of Great Britaine*; Sandford's *Geneal. Hist. and Cor. of James II.* Edmondson's *Heraldry*, i. 194. Abp Sharp's *Remarks on English Coins* in Ives's *Select Papers*; Strutt's *Horda*, vol. ii. pl. 6; and to the best engravings of the coins, seals, and monuments of the several reigns.

It may be remarkt of the crowns of some of the Tudor and Stuart princes that they appear in many engravings and other figures to have had three or four arches; but I am not satisfied whether this was ever the real form of the crown, or whether the peculiarity is only in the mode of representation.

²³ That a distinction hath existed from a very early time between the *sceptrum* and the *virga* will be manifest from the Anglo-Saxon Ce-

The Queen's Sceptre is made of gold adorned with diamonds and other precious stones ; it is 2 feet 10 inches long, with a mound and cross pattée at the top rising from a *fleur de lis*, and is like the king's sceptre-royal, but smaller and not twisted in the stem.

The queen hath also a Rod, which is borne in her left hand, both at the time of investiture and in the procession to the palace. This is made of ivory, 3 feet 1½ inch in length. The pomel and garniture are of gold, as are also the mound and cross ; the dove on the cross is enamelled white.

Beside the four sceptres above described (the only ones commonly used at coronations) I take this opportunity of mentioning another which was discovered in the year 1814 at the Jewel Office in the Tower of London, lying at the back part of a shelf and enveloped in dust. It was found to be a rod of gold, with its emblem the dove resting on a cross, like that of the king. It is of elegant workmanship and is adorn-

remonial in the Appendix. In this we find, as at present, a separate form of delivery for each : "*Hic datur regi Sceptrum, aique dicitur Accipe Sceptrum,*" &c. "*Hic regi Virga datur, aique dicitur Accipe Virgam,*" &c. From Hoveden we further learn that so early as the time of Richard I. the cross was the distinction of the sceptre for the right hand, and the dove of that borne in the left. The same will appear from the *Liber Regalis* and many other authorities.

I am led more particularly to notice this distinction from finding that a writer of the time of Henry VII. (frequently quoted in the following pages) has entirely reversed it.—See *Ives's Select Papers*, 4to. p. 111.

ed with coloured gems: No account has been given to the public of this neglected ensign of regality, but it may be conjectured to have been made for the consort of William III. whose coronation presented the singular and anomalous fact of a queen being jointly invested in the exercise of royal authority, and with those of its insignia which are usually reserved to the person of a sovereign.

The early use of sceptres by the English kings hath been already noticed (p. 47): in their form we may trace as much diversity as in that of the crowns. The sceptre of Æthelred II. seems to have been terminated by three pearls or small globes forming a cross, and that of Canute by a *fleur de lis*. The Confessor has the cross, and also the dove, which we do not observe before his reign*. William the Conqueror is represented on his coins as having a sceptre with the cross pattée in his right hand, and in the left one like that of Æthelred. Of the succeeding princes some appear holding the sceptre with the cross or virge with the dove; others have the *fleur de lis*, or a cluster of foliage, as the terminal ornament of their sceptres. The most remarkable deviation from the common forms is in the virge or MACE of Edward III. and

* See a figure of this king from his great seal, in the engraving prefixed to this book.

† The reader is particularly referred to a most curious painting engraven in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 250, supposed to

Richard II. which are surmounted by a very beautiful turret or pinnacle of rich Gothic tracery, with crockets on the edges²⁵. A nearly similar ornament may be seen on the seals of Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. but in these the top is not so pointed as in those before mentioned.

ST. EDWARD'S STAFF, which is borne before the king as he walks to coronation, is a large golden rod; 4 feet 7½ inches in length, with a pike of steel at the lower end about 4½ inches long. It has a mound and cross at the top. Edward the Confessor is represented on his coins with a long sceptre or staff of this kind, and hence the name is probably derived, unless this and the other regalia bearing his name have received it from being offered and preserved at his shrine.

§ 5. *Of the Orb or Mound.*

THIS is a ball of gold six inches in diameter, encompassed by a band or fillet of pearls and precious stones, with a similar band crossing its upper hemisphere. From the middle of the last rises a large amethyst of an oval form, which is the base or pedestal

represent king Edward III. but more probably, as I conjecture, his grandson Richard II. The sceptre which appears in this plate is surmounted by a dove. See also a figure of the last-named king at the head of this book.

of a cross pattée richly adorned with gems and with three large pearls hanging at its extremities. The whole height of the orb and cross is eleven inches.

There is another globe preserved among the crown jewels which was made for queen Mary; but it is not used in the coronation of queens consort.

The Orb is said to have been an ensign of the early Roman emperors; whose boasting title of *imperatores orbis terrarum* might have suggested its form. After their conversion to the Christian faith they placed upon it the peculiar badge of their religion, the cross:—it is asserted that the globe was borne with this addition by Constantine, but with more likelihood it is attributed to Theodosius²⁶. We find it to have remained with the eastern emperors and to have been used by those of the west from the beginning of the eleventh century: from these it was borrowed by most of the sovereigns of Europe. In England almost all the kings from Edward the Confessor²⁷ have it on their seals and coins: yet (as a learned antiquary remarks) it is not to be inferred that the orb was in early times deemed to be a part of the regalia either of En-

²⁶ See Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part I. c. 8, iii. Du Choul, 257; also some remarks on the *Basilisk scepter*, in *G. Logothetæ Chronicon*, (Edit. Douse, 1614) Not. p. 70.

²⁷ "Yet there is very little doubt to be made but that it is of much more antient date; for in the first plate of the *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, which represents king Edgar between two saints adoring Christ, one of the saints bears his sceptre, and the other the globe with a cross upon the top: this deli-

gland or other kingdoms, more especially as it is not enumerated as such in any of the antient rituals. Tho. Walsingham is the earliest of our historians who mention the orb as making part of the regalia; and yet he speaks in such terms as seem to indicate that the sceptre with the cross and the orb or mound were originally one and the same ensign of royalty²⁸. This also will seem more probable from the shape of the orb in the representations of our earlier kings; the stem of the cross being longer, and in some so much so as to present the appearance rather of a sceptre than of a globe: in the orbs of Richard I. John, and Henry III. this stem is adorned with flowers or leaves, and in those of Henry I. and II. is the remarkable addition of a dove on the top of the cross²⁹. The cross is most commonly of the form called *pattée*, though the cross *botoney* sometimes occurs.

§ 6. *Of the Royal Swords.*

THE principal sword which is borne before our kings at their coronation is the Sword of Mercy called *CURTANA*. The origin of its name, I believe, hath

neation was made in the year 996."—Strutt's *Hopda Angel-cýnnan*, vol. ii. p. 64.

²⁸ "Nam sceptrum quod susceperat concurrit de rotundo globo aureo quem tenebat in manu chirothecata, et habebat in summitate signum crucis."—Walsingh. *Hist. Angl.* sub R. II. Sir J. Ayloffe's *Account of the Body of Edw. I.* in *Archæol.* iii. 393.

²⁹ See the head-piece to this book.

never been explained by those who have written on the present subject; nor would it easily be discovered by the most careful searcher of our national records. It is among the records of fiction that we must look for this unknown title :—for though the antiquary be to seek in its history, the student of *Romance* will instantly be transported from the confines of our jewel house to the scenes of antient chivalry, and the original *Curtana* will be present to his mind wielded by its redoubted owner the Dane *Uggiero*, or by the still more famed *Orlando*.

Strongly as I am here tempted to an excursion among the flowery paths of romantic lore, I must leave the reader, if he be so disposed, to explore the ground at his own leisure. In the works of the Italian poets he may find the virtues and the adventures of the sword *Curtana*,

“ *E del Danese, che anchor vivo sia,
Dicono alcuni, ma non la historia mia*”³⁰.

It is remarkable that the name which we have here

³⁰ *Il Morgante*, c. xxviii. 36. The following notice of the sword of Ogier is from the French *Encyclopédie* at the word *épée*. “ *M. Ducange dit que ces faits, tous incroyables qu’ils paroissent (cutting men in two) ne lui semblerent plus tout-à-fait hors de vraisemblance depuis qu’il eut vu à Saint Faron de Meaux une épée antique que l’on dit avoir été celle d’Ogier le Danois, si fameux du tems de Charlemagne, au moins dans les Romans, tant cette épée est pesante, et tant par conséquent elle supposoit de force dans celui qui la manioit. Le P. Mabillon, qui l’a fait peser, dit qu’elle pese cinq livres et un quarteron.—Hist. de la Milice Française.*”

examined should have continued for many ages to be given to the first royal sword of England. We find it constantly used in all the later accounts of coronations; Edward VI. had "a swerde called *Curtana*." It occurs in the time of Henry VII. of Richard III.³¹ and Henry IV.³² It is mentioned in the *Liber Regalis* and the claims of service in the reign of Richard II. We next find it at the coronation of Edward II.³³ and we learn from Matthew Paris that a sword, *Curtana* or "Curtein" existed so long ago as the reign of Henry III. at whose coronation (*A.D.* 1236) it was carried by the earl of Chester³⁴.

The present is not the only instance of a royal sword borrowing the name of one famous in romance. The sword of Tristan is found (*ubi lapsus!*) among the regalia of king John³⁵; and that of Charlemagne, *Joyeuse*, was preserved to grace the coronations of the later kings of France. The adoption of these titles was indeed perfectly consonant with the taste and feeling of those ages in which the geste of chivalry were the favourite theme of oral and historical celebration; and when the names of *Durlindana*,

³¹ In the wardrobe account for the year 1483 are "iij swerdes, whereof oon with a flat poynte called curtana, and ij other swords, all iij swords covered in a yerde di' of crymysyn tisshue cloth of gold."

³² *Chron. Rishanger MS. Cott. Faust.* b. ix.

³³ See Appendix to book III.

³⁴ "*Comite Cestrie gladium S. Edwardi qui Curtetn dicitur, ante regem bajulante.*" &c.

³⁵ *Pat. de anno 9 Johan.*

of *Curtain*, or *Escalibore* would nerve the warrior's arm with a new and nobler energy.

Curtana is a flat sword without point, the end of the blade being square. It is 32 inches in length, and about 2 in breadth. The handle 4 inches long, covered with silver wire: the cross is of steel gilt.

The SECOND SWORD is called the Sword of justice to the Spirituality; it is nearly like the former, but rather longer, and with an obtuse point.

The THIRD SWORD, or the Sword of justice to the Temporality, is of the same length as the last but sharp at the point.

To the above may be added the SWORD OF STATE, with which the king is girded before he is crowned. This is more richly adorned than the others, and has a scabbard of crimson velvet with plates of gold bearing the royal arms, and the rose, thistle, portcullis, and other royal badges. The sword of state is not, however, a part of the regalia, but is to be considered as belonging personally to the sovereign.

§ 7. *Of the Ring, Bracelets, and Spurs.*

The RING with which our kings are invested, called by some writers³⁶ the wedding ring of England, is il-

³⁶ See Buck's *Richard III.*

illustrated, like the *Ampulla*, by a miraculous history, of which the following are the leading particulars⁵⁷: Edward the Confessor being one day askt for alms by a certain "fayre olde man," the king found nothing to give him except his ring, with which the poor man thankfully departed. Some time after, two English pilgrims in the Holy Land having lost their road as they travelled at the close of day, "there came to them a fayrauncyent man wyth whyte heer for age. Thenne y^e olde man axed theym what they were and of what regyon. And they answerde that they were pylgryms of Englonde, and hadde lost theyr felyshyp and way also. Thenne thys olde man comforted theym goodly, and brought theym in to a fayre cytee; and whan they had well refresshyd theym and rested there alle nyhte, on the morne this fayr olde man wente with theym and broughte theym in the ryght waye agayne. And he was gladde to here theym talke of the welfare and holynesse of theyr kynge saynt Edward. And whan he shold departe fro theym thenne he tolde theym what he was and sayd I AM JOHAN THEUANGELYST, and saye ye vnto Edward your kyng that I grete hym well by the token that he gaaf to me, thys Ryng with his one hondes, whych ryng ye shalle delyuer to hym agayne: and whan he had delyuerde to theym the ryng he departed fro theym sodenly."

⁵⁷ From the *Golden Legends*, (Juryan Notary, 1503) p. 187.

This command, as may be supposed, was punctually obeyed by the messengers, who were furnished with ample powers for authenticating their mission. The ring was received by the royal Confessor, and in after times was preserved with due care at his shrine in the abbey of Westminster²⁸.

The king's coronation ring is of plain gold, with a large table ruby on which the cross of St. George is engraven. That of the queen is likewise set with a large ruby, and has sixteen smaller ones round it.

The use of rings as signs of superior rank and dignity is of the greatest antiquity; thus we read that Pharaoh "took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand" as a mark of the power he had given him. The investiture *per annulum*, or delivery of the ring, has formed part of the inaugurative ceremony from a very remote period. We trace it in England to the time of the Heptarchy;—Offa king of the East Angles is recorded to have appointed Edmund

²⁸ "Within the Tower is a very ancient chapel dedicated to St John. That patron of the arts Henry III. gave directions about the ornamenting of this chapel; among other things, *Depingi faciatis patibulum et trabem ultra altare ejusdem capel' bene et bonis coloribus; et fieri faciatis et dopingi duas ymagines pulchras, ubi melius et decentius fieri possint in eadem capell' unam de sancto Edwardo tenente anulum, et donante et tendente s'cto Johan' Evangeliste,*" &c.—Pennant's *London*, p. 242, and *Stow*. Similar representations were to be found in several parts of Westminster Abbey and elsewhere.

In the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. we have a ring which was made by a saint:—"Unus annulus auri cum saphiro qui fuit de fabrica

his successor by sending him the ring which he received at his own coronation³⁹.

The *Armilla*, or BRACELETS, are of solid gold⁴⁰, opening by means of a hinge for the purpose of being worn on the wrist. They are an inch and half in breadth, and two and a half in diameter, ornamented with the rose, thistle, *fleur-de-lis*, and harp in chasing, and with pearls on either edge.

The continuance of the bracelet among our regalia is a circumstance highly remarkable, and which strongly recalls the memory of ages and manners long past by. The bracelet is well known in the history of antient nations⁴¹, and particularly of our northern ancestors, as a distinguishing mark of the king and the warrior⁴²: it was the reward of successful service, and the loss of it a dreaded consequence of defeat. The scald Snorro Sturlson thus praises, in one of his poems, the generosity of Haco IV. of Norway :

sancti Dunstani (ut credebatur.)" also "*Annulus auri cum quo rex fuit consecratus.*"

³⁹ "*Mox accersito consilio Edmundum filium regis Saxonie suum designavit [Offa, rex Estanglia] esse successorem; jussitque ut annulum suum sibi deferrent quem acceperat ab episcopo in regni Estanglorum promotione.*"—Batteley's *Antiq. Sti Edm. Burgi*, p. 119.

⁴⁰ "*Scin' hoc quid sit Spiniher?—Nescio, nisi AUREUM.*"—Plautus. (See § 8.)

⁴¹ "And I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord."—2 Samuel, i. 10.

⁴² See Ducange, *Gloss. Lat. voc. Armilla*.

"The king distributes liberally, his gifts prove it, bracelets for the wrists⁴³." In the poem of Beowulf the hero is styled

"Leorne þeoden	The leif king
Beaga bryttan."	Of bracelets lord.

Æthelstan is called *beopna beah-gýpa*: indeed "giver of bracelets" and such like epithets are to be found in many writings of the Anglo-Saxon age. The veneration in which these ornaments were held may be inferred from the practice of swearing upon them, which was common to the Danes, the people of Iceland, and other northern tribes. Their intrinsic value was frequently very great: an arm bracelet mentioned in the testament of a Saxon nobleman weighed 180 mancuses of gold, or about 20 oz. Troy weight, another 30 mancuses, or about 3½ oz. The bracelets of gold upon the arms of the soldiers belonging to the galley which was presented by earl Godwin to Hardicnut weighed 8 oz. each⁴⁴.

The curious ornaments above described are preserved in the royal jewel house, but I do not know in what way they are used in the ceremony of coronation⁴⁵.

⁴³ Johnstone's *Olave the Black*, p. 37.

⁴⁴ "*Test. Byrhtici et Ælfswythæ*. Malmsh. ii. c. 12."—Strutt's *Dress and Habits*, p. 81.

⁴⁵ An account of the *Stole*, in the following section, will be found to be connected with the subject of the *Armilla*.

⁴⁶ Sandford, p. 37. "The mantles used by the Anglo-Saxon monarchs at their coronations and upon

The royal SPURS are made of gold, curiously wrought. These the reader needs not be informed are the peculiar ornaments and symbols of chivalry, knights being created, according to the antient use, by investiture with the gilded spurs, and degraded by chopping them off from their heels.

§ 8. *Of the Royal Vestments.*

THE garments here to be described are those with which our kings are invested, during the ceremony of their coronation, by the archbishop and the assisting officers. Of these the chief is the DALMATICA or Open Pall, which is a three-cornered mantle "in fashion of a cope," with one strait side of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards in length to cover the shoulders and hang down in front, the other sides sloping into a train reaching about a foot upon the ground. It was formerly embroidered with golden eagles⁴⁶, but at the coronation of James II. this fabric was changed for a purple brocade tissue shot with gold thread, enriched with gold and silver trails and large flowers of gold frosted; the trails and flowers edged with purple or mazarine blue: the lining was a rich crimson taffeta, and the

other great solemnities were frequently embellished with superb embroideries.—The vestment which Cnut the Dane presented to the abbey of Croyland was made of silk embroidered with eagles of gold, (*aureis aquilis intextum*)."—Strutt's *Dress and Habits*, vol. i. p. 74.

fastening a broad gold clasp. As kings by their coronation are admitted into a sacred as well as a civil character, the former of these is particularly manifested in the investiture with clerical garments⁴⁷. The pall is the exterior habit of bishops, which they were used to receive from the pope as the sign of apostolical confirmation⁴⁸.

The SUPERTUNICA, surcoat, or close pall, which is worn under the pallium⁴⁹, is a strait coat with plain sleeves of a very thick and rich cloth of gold tissue, ornamented with gold flowers, brocaded and frosted without either silk or silver, and lined with crimson taffeta.—The length is about a yard and a quarter; the compass at the bottom about three yards.

To this surcoat belongs a belt or girdle made of the same cloth of gold lined with white tabby, with a gold buckle, runner, and tab to which hangers are affixt for suspending the sword with which the king is girded.

⁴⁷ The tunic and the dalmatic are said by Menin to represent the orders of deacon and subdeacon.

⁴⁸ The pall or *παλλίον* was originally a garment used by the Greeks, and was the same with them as the *toga* with the Romans; it was also called *ιμάτιον* and *φάρος*. The name *Dalmatica* is derived from a habit first used in Dalmatia, which, like the *pallium*, was appropriated to bishops: "*Dalmaticam propriam episcoporum vestem fuisse docent laudati scriptores. — Dalmaticis etiam indutos reges ac imperatores in eorum inauguratione, &c. palam est.*"—Du Cange, *voc. Dalmatica*.

⁴⁹ The *tunica* was worn by the Greeks and Romans under the *pallium*

The **Stole** (erroneously called the *Armit*) is a narrow vest of the same cloth of tissue as the super-tunic, lined with crimson sarcenet, and was formerly embroidered with eagles, roses, *fleurs de lis*, and crowns. It is in length about an ell, in breadth three inches, with two double ribbands at each end to tie it above and below the elbows.

The stole is an ecclesiastical ornament used at the celebration of the mass⁵⁰: it has also long been employed in the investiture of kings. "Walsingham, in his account of the coronation of Richard II. mentions that the king was invested first with the tunic of St Edward, and then with the dalmatic, '*projectâ circa collum ejus stold.*' Henry VI. is said to have been arrayed at the time of his coronation as a bishop that should sing mass, with a dalmatic like a tunic, and a stole about his neck⁵¹. The investing with a white stole, *in modum crucis in pectore*, is particularly mentioned in several foreign ceremonials. Goldastus, in the *Constitutiones Imperiales*, speaking of Maximilian king of the Romans, says '*induebatur cum*

and the *toga* (as the proverb implies—*Tunica pallio proptor*). It was antiently without sleeves.

⁵⁰ This habit may be traced even before the Christian age in the religious service of the Romans. "The stole (a thing the priests wear about their necks) is in imitation of that the high priests had which they layd on the back of the sacrifice when they ledd it to the altar."—*MS. anon.* It was also worn by the sacrificing priest: Du Choul, *Relig. des Anc. Rom.* See also Ducange, v. *Stola*.

⁵¹ "MS. WY. in the College of Arms."

*sandaliis, et stola alba in modum crucis in pectore;*⁵² and other ceremonials printed in Martene have the same words⁵³."

The *form* and *use* of the stole are, indeed, sufficiently defined as well by old writers as by the constant practice of the church: I now proceed to examine the *name* which I have stated to be erroneously applied to it. The reader, if he recollect what has been said of the royal bracelets, will doubtless be surprised to learn that the term *armil* is given by Sandford and all modern writers who follow him, as well as by many of an older time, to the ornament now explained, and that the prescribed form of delivery proper to the ARMIL hath long been actually used for the STOLE in the investiture of our kings; thus, when the archbishop says "Receive this armil," he invests the sovereign, not, as the word would lead us to expect, with a bracelet of gold, but with the silken vest above described. In the *Little Devise of the coronation of Henrie VII.* we find the following state-

⁵² Sir J. Ayloffe's *Account of the Body of Edw. I.* in *Archæologia*, vol. iii. 382.

⁵³ Ives's *Select Papers*, p. 110.

⁵⁴ The following is from an old MS. glossary of W. Briton, in the collection of Mr. Douce:—"Armilla propriè ornamentum armorum. In auris aurium, et dextralia brachiorum: et dicitur ab armus armi."

⁵⁵ *De Armillis Veterum* Schedion. (Amst. 1676, 12mo.)

⁵⁶ See *Ph. Rubenii Electorum Lib. II.* (Antv. 1608, 4to.) l. i. c. 39.

⁵⁷ "Utrumque autem brachium nullo ferè discrimine exornabant armillæ.—Plus tamen in dextris erat decoris, si solæ gestabantur."—Bartholinus *De Armillis*, p. 21.

ment;—"And it is to wit that armyll is made in manner of a stole woven with golde and set with stones, to be put by the cardinall about the king's neck, and comyng from bothe shulders to his bothe elbowes, where thei shall be fastenid by the abbot of Westminster with lace of silke to every side the elbowe in two places; that is to say, above the elbowes and beneth⁵³."

I have been led to examine and to reject the name which is thus commonly given to the regal stole for the reasons following:—

1. The Latin word *armilla* is, in the glossaries⁵⁴, in the learned treatise of Bartholinus⁵⁵, and in other authorities⁵⁶, constantly explained as a BRACELET, or ornament of the wrist (either of one or both⁵⁷), and as synonymous with the terms *spinther*, *viriola*, *dextrocheria*, &c.⁵⁸

2. The form of delivery in the ceremonial, which is now "Receive this armil," is, in the *Liber Regalis* (Rich. II.) and in other antient authorities, exprest in the *plural* number⁵⁹. It is not easily to be under-

⁵³ I am aware that Cluverius connects the term armil with a part of dress.—*Germ. Antiq.* part i. ch. 8. See also Ducange and Wachter. It is not indeed unlikely that a sleeve or maunch ornamented with strings of pearls or beads should have been so called; but this cannot authorize its being applied to a vest which depends from the neck. It is clear also that the primitive sense is that of an arm-ring.

⁵⁹ "*Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiæ, divinæque circumdationis indicium, quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles et invisibiles posse esse munitas*,"—*Lib. Reg.* "*Armille; Accinctus ense*,

stood why *armilla* should in any case denote a garment for the shoulders, or how "armyll" can be "made in manner of a stole;" but how *armillas* can be rendered a stole, or a garment of any sort, I am quite at a loss to conjecture.

Nor do I seek to apply the form of delivery to something which does not now exist. The bracelets described in the last section are still preserved among the regalia in the Tower; whether these bracelets are now used at all in the investiture I know not; but that they were antiently used, and with the words "*Accipe armillas*," cannot I believe be disputed⁶⁰: it will also be readily conceived that the stole was

armillas accipiat, dicente metropolitano Accipe armillas."—*Chron. Riss. hanger. MS. Cotton. Faust.* B ix. "*Accipe armillas.*"—*MS. Reg. in Mus. Brit.* 12 D iii. See also Walsingham, p. 94.

It is worthy of remark that even the spiritual virtues which by the present form of delivery are attributed to the stole seem to belong more properly to the bracelet. "*Velut ornamentum aureum est eruditio sapienti, et instar armillæ brachio dextro.*"—*Ecclesiast. xxi.* "*Quaquam autem obscura hic sint vestigia, dictat tamen animus, si verè, judicabunt doctiores, armillas istas militaria fuisse instrumenta, ut robur brachio et firmitatem ictibus adderent.*"—*Bartholinus*, p. 107.

⁶⁰ "Robert Holkot, in *Lib. Sapientiæ*, lect. 75, where I see he meant the coronation of the kings of England by the *Accipe armillas*, &c."—*Selden, Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, v.

"*Has denique armillas, quas et baugas vocabant, ut præcipua regis dignitatis ornamenta habuisse Francos nostros, pluribus docuimus ad Alsiadem; quod etiam de Danis ac Anglis testatur Simeon Dupelm. et Tho. Walsingh.* p. 196."—*Ducange, voc. Armillum.* The word *baugas* identifies the *armillæ* here spoken of with the Icelandic *baugr* and *arm-baugr*, the beag and eapm-beag of the Anglo-Saxons;—their bracelet or arm-ring. The following is the passage from Simeon of Dur-

given without any separate form of words, as part of the sacred habit⁶¹.

The foregoing remarks on what appeared to the writer as a curious error in the practice of our coronations, are submitted with deference to those who may have greater leisure for investigation and more learning as their guide. That the name of one of the ensigns of royalty should have been so singularly perverted can only be accounted for by the obscurity which covers this neglected branch of our national antiquities: an obscurity which it is hoped will be remembered in the reader's censure upon the present essay towards its illustration.

ham:—"Quo invento (*Guthredo*) ante totius exercitus frequentiam producat, atque ab omnibus, me volente ac iubente, in *Oswiesdune*, hoc est monte *Oswin*, electus, posita in brachio ejus dextro armilla, in regnum constituitur."—*De Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. ii. cap. 13. That from *Walsingham* is the same as is cited above. After the words "*projecta stola*" he says "*quo facto, archiepiscopus ARMILLAS dedit ei, dicens Accipe armillas,*" &c.—a triumphant authority!

⁶¹ It might perhaps be conjectured that the stole was called *armil* from some confusion between that word and *armilause*, the name of a certain habit which is thus described, "*Monachorum scapulare, quod ab armis, scapulis, et humeris pendet.*" &c.—*Hieroglossicon* (Rom. 1677). "*Armilause vulgò vocata, quod antè et retrò divisa atque aperta est, in armos tantum clausa, quasi armiclausula.*"—*Isidorus*. See *Rubentius*, lib. ii. c. 12, &c. In these accounts, however, it is sufficiently different from the stole. So also *Camden*;—"1372 they first began to wanton it in a new round curtall weed which they called a cloak, and in Latin *armilause*, as onely covering the shoulders."—*Remaines*, p. 195. More need not be added on this point, since the word *armilause* never occurs in any ceremonial that I have seen: should the reader wish to examine its etymology he is referred to *Schilter's Thesaurus*, under *Arane* and *Lezz*.

The **COLOBIUM SINDONIS**⁶² (which is the first garment put upon the king after his being anointed) is a surplice without sleeves, of fine white cambric, rather longer than the *supertunica*; it is bordered about the neck and armholes, down the breast, and round the bottom, with rich white lace, surflled on very full. The *colobium* is one of the sacred habits; it is an antient dress of bishops and priests⁶³.

The ornaments appropriated to the legs are the *Caligæ* or **BUSKINS**, and the **SANDALS**: the former are made of the same cloth of tissue as the *supertunica*, and lined with crimson sarcenet; the length of them is 18 inches. The Sandals, as described by Sandford, have a leathern sole with a wooden heel covered with red leather, the straps being of cloth of tissue⁶⁴. The purple boot or sandal is a well known distinction of imperial rank, and was long used by the eastern emperors. The right of wearing it was asserted by the kings of Bulgaria together with the superior title of *basileus*. The pope, when he presents his foot for the kiss of homage, has a shoe of crimson velvet adorned with a golden cross⁶⁵.

⁶² *Colobium*, Καλίκιον, quia καλόν, sine manicis. *Sindon* is the Hebrew שִׁט, fine linen cloth; sheets or shirts made of such linen.—Taylor.

⁶³ See Ducange, Spelman, &c.

⁶⁴ In the wardrobe of king John we find "*sums par caligatum de samito cum orifrasio*;" which are boots or buskins of tissue, or silk embroidered with gold.—*Pat. an. 17 Johan.* Cloth of gold seems to

We have now done with those habits which form part of the regalia, and which are used in the investiture. The whole of the dress in which the prince comes to his coronation is indeed prepared for the occasion, and adapted as well to the splendour of the ceremony as to the convenience of performing that part of it which requires exposure of the person. Of this, however, it is unnecessary to give further particulars, especially as they may be found in the elaborate history of the coronation of James II. on the authority of which the present description of the royal vestments is principally composed.—I shall only notice further (from the work just named⁶⁵) the robes which are conspicuous in the processional solemnities.

The PARLIAMENT ROBES, which are put on by the king in the palace at Westminster before he comes down into the great hall, consist of a surcoat of crimson velvet, a large mantle of crimson velvet, with a hood suitable, furred with ermine and bordered with rich gold lace. Also, a cap of state of crimson velvet turned up with ermine.

The ROBES of ESTATE are of purple velvet, of the same fashion as the former; these he takes with the

have been the common material for this part of royal dress: in another record of the same reign (*Pat. an. 9*) is "*unam tunicam de purpura et sandakia de eodem panno.*"

⁶⁵ See Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 3, iii. 8, ii. G. Logothetæ *Chronicon*, *Notæ* pp. 84, 86. Meursius, *Gloss. v. Τζάγγα*.

⁶⁶ Sandford, p. 22.

imperial crown at St Edward's altar when the coronation is finished.

The following lists of foreign Regalia are subjoined for the purpose of comparison with those of England. "The imperial ornaments of GERMANY consist, of 1, Charlemagne's crown; 2, his dalmatic robe or mantle, embroidered with large pearls; 3, the golden apple or globe; 4, his sword; 5, his golden sceptre; 6, the imperial cloak embroidered with eagles, and bordered with large emeralds, diamonds, sapphires, and chrysolites; 7, the buskins, covered with plates of gold; 8, the gloves embroidered with curious stones; and 9, the hereditary crown of the emperor Rodolph the Second⁶⁷."

The regalia of FRANCE are, 1, the great imperial crown, said to have been received by Charlemagne from pope Leo III. when he was crowned emperor of the west; 2, the sword of Charlemagne, called *Joyeuse*; 3, the sceptre of Charlemagne six feet high, with the figure of an emperor at the top sitting in a chair garnisht with two lions and two eagles; 4, the hand of justice⁶⁸, which is a virge of gold a cubit long; at the end is the figure of a hand in ivory with a ring on the fourth finger enriched with a sapphire;

⁶⁷ Dillon's *Political Survey of the Sac. Rom. Emp.* 8vo, p. 11.

⁶⁸ The hand on a sceptre or baton is an ensign often seen on coins of the Roman emperors: it was probably adopted in France by Charle-

5, the spurs of Charlemagne. The vestments are the dalmatic, tunic, buskins or sandals, and the royal robe : these are sometimes of sky-blue satin, and sometimes of purple velvet, but always seeded with *fleurs de lis* embroidered with gold⁶⁹.

To these may be added the following of SCOTLAND as they existed at the time of the union of that kingdom with England. The crown consisted of a circle of gold adorned with ten crosses flory, and ten *fleurs de lis*, all alternative with twenty points topt with as many great pearls. From the circle arose four bows which met at the top, forming two arches, surmounted with a mound of gold or celestial globe enamelled blue, semé or powdered with stars, and a large cross pattée with the characters I. R. 5 upon the foot of the cross. The whole crown was adorned with pearls; diamonds, and other gems. The cap was of purple velvet, turned up with ermine.

The sceptre was of silver double gilt, thirty-four inches in its whole length. At the top of the stem was an antique capital of leaves embost, upon the abacus whereof were three statues, of the Blessed Virgin, St Andrew, and St James, surrounding the prolonged stem, and each covered by a Gothic niche, the

magne, and has always been one of the chief regalia in that country. Our Henry VI. is represented on his seal with the hand of justice, which he might bear in virtue of his coronation in France.

⁶⁹ Menin, p. 119, See also Montfaucon, *Monumens de la Mon. Franc.*

whole surmounted by a globe topt with an oriental pearl half an inch in diameter. Under the statues are the same letters I. R. 5.

The sword was five feet in length, the handle and pomel silver gilt; on the blade were these letters, Julius II. P. which were repeated on the scabbard with the addition *pon. max. n.* and the papal ensigns, that pope having given it to king James IV.⁷⁰

These regalia were lodged in the crown room in the castle of Edinburgh, being taken from the keeping of the earl marshal of Scotland in the year 1707. A few years ago this room was opened by commissioners with great formality, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the regalia were still there; but as their warrant did not particularly authorize them to open the chest which was *in the room*, they prudently retired!

§ 9. *History of the Regalia.*

I SHALL conclude this book with some slight notice of the history of the regalia in general, and of the places where they have been usually kept. It appears to have been the practice of several kingdoms to con-

⁷⁰ From a minute description entitled "Instrument upon the Lodgement of the Regalia; viz. Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, within the Castle of Edinburgh." (A. D. 1707, 6th Anne.)—*Bibl. Topog. Brit.* No. xliii. Also published in *A Collection of Inventories, &c.* (Edinb. 1815. 4to.)

vide the care of these treasures to some distinguisht church or convent, as well to honour the shrine of a patron saint as to obtain the security of consecrated walls; it was also done to prevent their becoming, in the hands of the prince, tokens of an hereditary investiture⁷¹. The regalia of the German empire are kept in the church of the Holy Ghost at Nuremberg, and are never removed but at the coronation of an emperor, or when some person of high distinction desires to see them⁷². Those of France are under the care of the abbot and convent of St Denis, who carry them to Rheims at every coronation: this charge was confirmed to them by a charter of St Louis, *A.D.* 1261⁷³. The *sainte ampoule* is kept in the abbey of St Remy at Rheims, in which place it is said to have been from the time of Clovis. The removal of this relique to the cathedral church for a coronation, and its return to the abbey, are attended with great pomp and ceremony.

Before the Reformation the English regalia were constantly kept by the religious of the venerable abbey of Westminster, as appears from the antient ceremonies, which evidently consider them as under the care of the abbots of this house, from whom they

⁷¹ It was doubtless for the last reason that in Scotland they were always kept by the great marshal of the kingdom.

⁷² Dillon's *Political Survey*, p. 12.

⁷³ Marlot, *Théâtre d'Honneur*, l. iv. c. 1. Menin, p. 120.

were received, and to whom they were always restored at the conclusion of the ceremony⁷⁴. This indeed is still done *pro forma*; the royal ornaments are brought to the palace by the clergy of the church, and several of them are left at the shrine of St Edward when the sovereign is disrobed. From the *Liber Regalis* it appears that when the king and queen withdrew from the feast those also which they then put off were redelivered to the abbots of Westminster: this practice however hath ceased to be observed, and it is well known that the regalia do not permanently remain with the abbots' successors.

The right of this monastery, as guardian of the national insignia, was established by the foundation charter of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the contemporary bull of pope Nicholas II.⁷⁵ and the subsequent ones of Pascal and Innocent II.⁷⁶ under every sanction that ecclesiastical or civil authority could afford; and there is every reason to believe that it was

⁷⁴. An old historian, speaking of the two sceptres being carried in procession by the abbot of Westminster, says further, "*Hoc officium fecit abbas non quia primus est inter abbates, sed quia regaliū insignium est repositorium locus suus.*"—*Chron. Rishanger. MS. Cott. Faust. B ix.* The subject may be illustrated by the following lines from a ms. poem in praise of Henry V. (*MS. Cott. Cleop. B i.*) "*De ij libris precios' et scept' regine restit' ecclesie Westm.*

"*Psalterium carum sic Flores hystoriarum
Restituit gratis ad Westm' vir pietatis
Sceptrum regale pro regina speciale
Quod tenuit pridem rex reddere iussit eidem.*"

held sacred till the privileges of the religious houses were subverted by Henry VIII. after which period the more valuable parts of the regalia were removed, in violation of national and of local right, to the royal treasury in the Tower of London, and kept like the heir-loom of a family by the possessors of the throne. The precise time at which this removal took place cannot exactly be traced; it is likely, indeed, that during the interval between the Reformation and the Civil War the regalia were deposited part in the Tower and part at Westminster abbey as convenience or accident might dictate⁷⁵.

We now pass to that fatal period in the history of our regalia, their seizure and destruction by the republican party after the death of Charles I. Animated as much by hatred of monarchy as by desire for the appropriation of its treasures to the support of their cause, the agents of the commons parliament now possessed themselves of the jewels both of the king

⁷⁵ "Concedimus" &c. "ut amplius imperpetuum regie constitutionis et consecrationis locus sit, atque repositorium regaliū insignium."—Dugdale's *Monasticon*, p. 59.

⁷⁶ "Regalia quoque gloriosi R. Edwardi que apud vos habentur insignia ita in eodem monasterio intacta et integra decernimus observari, ut nulli fas sit, cujusque ordinis aut dignitatis, ea distrahere vel vendere, aut extra eundem sacrum locum absque communi omnium fratrum assensu in aliquos usus prorogare."—MS. Cott. Claud. A viii. Dart's *Antiq. of Westminster*, Appendix.

⁷⁷ This may be inferred from a paper of Sir W. Segar's, written probably for the coronation of James I. and copied in the Appendix to this volume from the original in the British Museum.

and the kingdom. The iron chests in the abbey were broken open by Harry Martin in 1642, and in 1649 a complete inventory was made out of the regalia in the Tower, which at the same time were "totallie broken and defaced"⁷⁸. In the inventory of "that part of the regalia which are now removed from Westminster to the Tower" the most remarkable thing is a crown which is called king Ælfred's, and described as of "gould wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells." That the authentic crown of this illustrious king should have been preserved through so many ages may seem almost incredible; yet a tradition of its existence may be found in a very early writer. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote in the time of Henry III. says of Ælfred (p. 264).

"þe pope Leon hȳm blessedde, þo he þuder com,

And þe kynges croune of þȳs lond, þat in þȳs lond gūt ȳa."

Sir Henry Spelman (though probably unacquainted with the above-cited authority) writes "I know not why we may not conjecture that the king fell upon the composing of an imperial crown—for in the arched room in the cloisters of Westminster abbey where the antient regalia of this kingdom are kept, upon a box which is the cabinet to the antientest crown, there is

⁷⁸ As this document will throw some light on the state of the regalia at the time of their destruction and on their general history, I shall give it a place in the Appendix to this book, with the antient Catalogue of Sporley, a monk of Westminster.

(as I am informed) an inscription to this purpose, *Hæc est principalior corona cum qua coronabantur reges Ælfredus, Edwardus, &c.* and the crown (which to this purpose were worth the observing) is of a very antient work, with flowers adorned with stones of somewhat a plain setting⁷⁹." The descriptions here cited will certainly apply to a fabric of great antiquity; but whether the subject of them is to be considered as a genuine relique of the sovereign whose name it bore must be left to the judgement of the reader.

On the restoration of kingly government in the person of Charles II. new insignia were made for his coronation; and these with the necessary alterations to accommodate them to their successive wearers, and to repair the injuries of time, have continued to the present day. Nothing therefore need be added to this brief outline of their history but the notice of a circumstance too well known to make a particular account of it necessary: the attempt of Colonel Blood to steal the crown and sceptre on the 9th of May 1673, in the 13th year of Charles II. In this "robustious struggle for the crown," as it is termed by Stow, "a fair diamond fell off, with some other fair stones," but it does not appear that any considerable thing was lost.

⁷⁹ *Life of Ælfred the Great*, 8vo, p. 200.

Some observations might have found a place in the foregoing pages on the number and value of the crowns, sceptres, and other royal ornaments which enriched the wardrobes of our several kings : but as our subject required only the notice of those which are properly of the regalia, and as I have endeavoured to preserve a distinction, too often neglected, between these and the personal jewels of the sovereign, I have avoided all such matter as would have tended to confuse them.

We now dismiss

“ ——— the scepter and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crowne imperiall,
The enter-tissued robe of gold and pearle,”

till we see them in the “tyde of pompe” which will hereafter swell before us.



BOOK III.

ASSISTANTS AT THE CORONATION. PRELATES, PEERS, AND
GREAT OFFICERS.—COURT OF CLAIMS—TENANTS OF THE
CROWN BY GRAND SERGEANTY PERFORMING SERVICES.

§ 1. *Of the Prelate who should crown the King, and
of the Place where the ceremony ought to be
performed.*

SINCE the first employment of the rites of religion
in the inauguration of kings, the principal function
in the performance of this ceremony hath devolved
upon the dignified ministers of the church, it being
generally attached, as of right, to the possessors of a
particular episcopal see. The emperors of the East,

as hath already been said, were crowned by the patriarchs of Constantinople. In Germany, according to the golden bull, the coronation of the emperor should be performed at Aix-la-Chapelle, the city in which Charlemagne resided. The archbishop of Cologne, as archchaplain of the chapel erected by that emperor, maintained for a long time the exclusive right of performing the act of consecration; but the elector of Mentz, as primate of Germany, contesting it with him, an act was past in 1675 which directed that he of the two prelates in whose diocese the emperor is crowned shall perform the ceremony, and that out of the two dioceses they shall do it alternately. The Russian emperors are crowned by the patriarch of Moscow, in that capital; the kings of France, by the archbishop of Rheims, at Rheims. The kings of Spain have generally been crowned by the archbishop of Toledo, in that city. The kings of Sweden are crowned by the archbishop of Upsal, at Upsal; those of Poland by the archbishop of Gnezna, at Cracow; those of Hungary by the archbishop of Gran, at Presburg. The bishop of Pampeluna had the right of anointing

¹ "In natiuitate Domini unctus est in regem [Willielmus] apud Westmonasterium à beatæ memoriæ Ealredo archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et nonnullis episcopis Angliæ. Quam consecrationem licet ipse rex et omnes alii optimè nossent debere specialiter fieri, et propriè à pontifice Cantuariensi, tamen quia multa mala et horrenda crimina prædicabantur de Stigando qui eo tempore ibi pontifex erat, voluit eam ab ipso suscipere, ne maledictionem videretur induere pro benedictione."—Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 6.

the kings of Navarre, and in his absence the prior of Roncesvalles. The kings of Scotland were originally crowned at Scone by the bishop of St Andrews.

The right of consecrating the sovereigns of England is attached to the metropolitan or patriarchal chair of CANTERBURY, the archbishops of which see have exercised it from the earliest ages of the monarchy. In the reign of William I. this office is ascribed to them by a contemporary historian as an acknowledged privilege of antient date¹; and we are told that in the reign of Henry II. pope Alexander III. interdicted the archbishop of York and the bishops who assisted him, because they had crowned prince Henry at the persuasion of the king his father in the absence of Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and without his licence². In later times this privilege of the metropolitan see, though broken through at the accession of Elizabeth, has on all occasions been fully admitted³.

The PLACE of coronation, after the union of the seven crowns was at first the capital of the prevailing state,—Winchester in the kingdom of Wessex.

¹ Matth. Paris, *sub an.* 1170, Polidore Vergil, *Hist.* lib. 13. See a copy of the letters of pope Alexander on this matter, *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.* p. 127-8.

² The archbishop, according to antient usage, receives as his fee, after a coronation, the purple velvet chair, cushion, and footstool whereon he sits during the ceremony.

It was not however confined to that city; Kingston-on-Thames³, Westminster, London, and some other towns occasionally partook of this honour; but in the reign of Edward the Confessor (who was himself crowned at Winchester) it was formally transferred to the new monastery of Westminster built by that pious prince⁴; and here the ceremony has from that time been always performed, except upon some few extraordinary occasions.

§ 2. *Of the titles and functions of State Officers who assist at Coronations.*

THE whole peerage of England in their several degrees may be considered as assistants in a coronation; but their part in the ceremony will not need explanation in this place, and may be referred to the ceremonial⁵. Our attention will now be directed to the hereditary great officers of state, and to the history of the remarkable services which they have been used to perform in the ceremony which is under our notice. We cannot here dwell upon the origin and former

³ Camden, when speaking of Kingston, says "*In quo cum Anglia, Danicis bellis, suis ferè sedibus convulsa esset, Athelstanus, Edwinus, et Ethelredus reges regno inaugurati fuerunt, unde à regibus factum nomen Kingston, id est oppidum regium.*"—*Britannia*, Suthry.

⁴ See the evidences quoted in p. 92 of this work.

⁵ Some remarks on services antiently performed by a particular class of English peers will be found in the 10th section of this book.

power of these great officers, but concerning their rank and importance it may be briefly observed that in the earlier time, when the popular part of governments had a less controlling view of the actions of the prince, the stewards, constables, and marshals of the realm were the guardians of its laws and liberties. Their power extended to the removal of evil counsellors from the royal presence, to the redress of individual wrong, and to the support of national honour; they were the constant attendants on the court, and their sanction was necessary to the royal decrees⁶. Representatives and grand functionaries of the NATION, it was their duty to invest with sovereignty the prince who was the object of its choice; and to each of them was assigned some part in the formality of investiture proper to the character of his office.

In the EMPIRE the power and influence attached to these high stations, though originally of the same kind as elsewhere, hath greatly out-grown its original limits. Acting for themselves, and not as agents of the state, they acquired the right to nominate as well

⁶ This is plainly to be inferred from the signatures to our antient charters. We are also told that "in France the barons and great men gave in like manner their attendance at the king's court. Such were the *dapifer*, butler, chamberlain, constable, chancellor, and others. And these great officers did so usually or constantly attend at the king's court, that when the office of any of them was void, notice is often taken of it in publick acts or attestations to show the reason of their not attending."—Madox's *Hist. of the Excheq.* fol. p. 19.

as to invest their chief⁷; at the same time retaining the services, however menial, which they antiently performed, and uniting under the title of Elector the characters of sovereign and of servant. The great officers of the empire are the three Arch-Chancellors, the archbishops and electors of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, one of whom crowns the emperor; the Arch-Butler, the king of Bohemia; Arch-Marshal, the duke of Saxony; Arch-Chamberlain, the marquis of Brandenburg; and Arch-Sewer, the count Palatine of the Rhine⁸.

In the procession to the emperor's coronation, the arch-marshal bore the naked sword, the hereditary marshal the scabbard, the chamberlain carried the sceptre, the sewer the globe⁹. Their other services at the coronation are recorded as follows: "Before the palace gate ther us'd to stand a heap of oats to the breast of a horse, then comes the duke of Saxony mounted, having in his hand a sylver wand, and a sylver measure stood by, which was to weigh two hundred marks; he fills the measure, sticking his wand after-

⁷ See note on p. 4 of this work.

⁸ "Besides the arch-offices appertaining to the electoral dignity in particular, there are others granted to particular families, of an inferior nature to these, belonging to the body of the empire at large, and not attached to any particular service to the sacred person of the emperor, viz. the count of Altham is hereditary butler of the empire; the count of Waldbourg hereditary sewer; the count of Papenheim hereditary marshal; the prince of Hohenzollern hereditary chamberlain," &c.—Dillon's *Political Survey of the Sac. Rom. Emp.* p. 59.

wards in the remainder, and so goes to attend the emperor; the three arch-bishopps say grace; the marquis of Brandenburg comes also on hors-back with a sylver bason of water of the value of twelve marks, and a clean towell, which, being alighted, he holds to the emperor; then comes the count Palatin of the Rhin a hors-back also, and being alighted he carries fower dishes of meat, ev'ry dish of the value of three marks; then the king of Bohemia comes with a napkin on his arm, with a cover'd cupp of twelve marks, which he presents¹⁰."

The principal state officers of FRANCE who act at the coronation appear to be the Constable, the Grand Master, the Chancellor, the Great Chamberlain, and the Grand Almoner. The first of these receives from the king the sword with which he is girt, and carries it before him during the rest of the ceremony¹¹. The chancellor calls up the peers to assist in the act of coronation: the chamberlain puts on the king the tu-

⁹ The following couplets are found in *Larbre des Battailles*, MS. and in Howell's *Discourse of the Empire*, 8vo, 1659, p. 23.

"*Moguntinensis, Trierensis, Coloniensis,
Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum,
Est Palatinus dapifer, Dux, portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus cameræ, pincerna Bohemus.*"

¹⁰ Howell's *Discourse*, p. 25.

¹¹ In the *Ordo* of Charles V. printed in *Titles of Honor*, this is said of the seneschal: the latter office we are told by Mr. Madox was hereditary in France, and likewise in Normandy before the union of that seignury to the crown of France.—*Hist. of Excheq.* p. 33. *Baron. Angl.* p. 35.

nic, dalmatic, and robe. Besides the abovementioned officers, the king is served at the coronation feast by the Grand Pannetier, the Great Cupbearer (*echanson*), the Grand Carver (*ecuyer tranchant*), and others¹². In the French coronations the whole peerage is represented by those of the body who are known as the Twelve Peers of France, and who nominally still perform a distinguisht part in the ceremony: it is their exclusive privilege to touch the crown when placed on the king's head, a right which with us is common to all the nobility. Their other functions are as follows.—The archbishop duke of Rheims hath the privilege of anointing the king; the bishop and duke of Laon carries the holy vial; the bishop and duke of Langres, the sceptre; the bishop and count of Beauvais, the royal mantle; the bishop and count of Chalons, the ring; and the bishop and count of Noyon, the belt. Of the lay peers, the duke of Burgundy carries the crown; the duke of Aquitaine or Guienne, the first banner; the duke of Normandy, the second; the count of Champagne, the banner-royal; the count of Tholouse, the spurs; and the count of Flanders, the royal sword¹³.

And here I take occasion to notice two attendants on

¹² The office of grand butler became extinct at the end of the fifteenth century; the function appears to have been since united to those of the *grand echanson*.

¹³ The institution of the twelve peers is generally attributed to Hugh Capet or to his successor Robert: the particular offices above describ-

our English coronations who have been transplanted from those of France. It is usual for two gentlemen of the court to walk in the procession as dukes of Normandy and Guienne, habited in the antient dress of the ducal peers of France. They are described as follows in a book of the age of Henry VII. and the account agrees with those of later times. "Two squiers for the king's bodie, bearing in baudrick wise twoo mantelles [of crimson velvet] furred wîth ermyns, wearing twoo hattes of estate of crymsen clothe of golde beked over beke, turnyd upp behinde and furred also with ermynes, in representacion of the king's twoo duchesses¹⁴ of Gyen and Normandie¹⁵." Of the first appearance of these characters in our coronations I have not found any account¹⁶; but it may be conjectured that they were introduced after the conquests of Edward III. and for the purpose of perpetuating the claims of our Norman and Angevine princes.

I shall conclude these introductory remarks with a passage from a once celebrated work which I have before quoted.

"Electors, palatines, peers, and other officers of state must not think they were established only to

ed were assigned to them by Louis VII. for the coronation of his son Philip II.

¹⁴ Duchies.

¹⁵ Ives's *Select Papers*, p. 96.

¹⁶ They are briefly mentioned by Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part II. ch. 3, vii.

make pompous parades and shows when they are at the coronation of the king habited in their robes of state, as if there were some masque or interlude to be represented, or as if they were that day to act the parts of Roland, Oliver, or Renaldo, and such other personages on a stage, or to counterfeit and revive the memory of the knights of the Round Table : and after the dismissing of that day's assembly to suppose they have sufficiently acquit themselves of their duty until a recess of the like solemnity. Those solemn rites and ceremonies were not instituted for vain ostentation, nor to pass as in a dumb show to please the spectators, nor in children's sports, as it is with Horace, to create a king in jest : but those grandees must know that as well for office and duty as for honour they are called to the performance of those rites, and that in them the commonwealth is committed and recommended to the king, as to her supream and principal tutor and protector, and to them, as coadjutors and assistants to him¹⁷."

It is not necessary in this place to give a catalogue of all the state officers of England ; I shall merely notice those whose duty is connected with the present ceremony : such are the Lord High Steward, the Lord

¹⁷ *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* (Engl. Trans.) p. 137.

¹⁸ "*Seneschalia Angliæ pertinet ad comitiam Leycest' et pertinuit ab antiquo, et sciendum quod ejus officium est supervidere et regulare sub rege et*

Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal; to which may be added the hereditary Grand Almoner, the Chief Butler, the Sewer, the Grand Carver, the Cupbearer, the Grand Pan-
neter, the Chief Larderer, and the Napier. Some of these offices are now in abeyance by the extinction of the noble families in which they descended, or have been abolished by a change in the condition of tenure. The duties of such are, however, performed by some persons of rank appointed for the occasions which require them. The functions of each officer will now be considered separately, and first, those of

§ 3. *The Lord High Steward of England.*

THE great authority which is attached to this exalted office is scarcely at any time more fully displayed than on occasion of the demise of the crown. As it was the acknowledged duty of the steward to govern the kingdom during peace and war immediately under the king, and to control the abuse of power in the judicial servants of the crown¹⁸, so it cannot be doubted but that a greater share of power devolved upon him during the interval between the decease of one king and the coronation of a successor. This may

immediate post regem totum regnum Angl' et omnes ministros legum infra idem regnum, temporibus pacis et guerrarum."—*MSS. Cott. Vesp. B vii. No. 61. Liber. E viii.* See also Coke's *Institutes*, part iv. ch. 4.

be inferred, indeed, from his walking next before the king in the procession to the church where the coronation is performed, bearing, as its temporary guardian, the crown of St Edward. This is one part of the duty still performed by the high steward; but the function to which our principal attention will be directed is that which the approach of a coronation imposes. At this time the high stewards of England by virtue of their office were used to sit judicially in the white hall of the king's palace of Westminster, near the chapel¹⁹, to receive the petitions of state officers, and of certain of the nobility and gentry who by the tenures of their respective estates are bound to perform services of different kinds at the coronations of the kings and queens of England. These petitions, or claims, the steward had power to examine, and if supported by documents and precedents, to allow them, or to reject, if wanting in the requisite proof: hence the tribunal is called the COURT OF CLAIMS. For the better understanding of the decisions of this court respecting the services now to be described, a few words may be premised of the kind of tenure on which these services are founded. Among the different conditions upon which lands were formerly granted by

¹⁹ For an account of the room called the white hall, and of the palace in general, the reader is referred to Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, 4to, Lond. 1807. The chapel here mentioned is the present house of commons.

the crown was that of performing some defined service by the person of the tenant to the person of the king. This service was sometimes a military one, but more commonly official; and the time of its performance was frequently the day of the sovereign's coronation, when he also received the homage and fealty of those other tenants who held their lands by these forms of submission. Tenure on the condition above defined was honourable from its certainty and from the required service being due to the royal person alone: hence it was called *magnum servitium*, or grand sergeanty. Thus, if the crown hath granted a manor or estate to any one on the condition that he shall carry a sword or a sceptre at the coronations of the kings and queens of England, such estate is said to be holden in grand sergeanty by the service of carrying such royal ensign. As another mark of the honour attributed to services of this kind, we find that they cannot be performed by any under the degree of knighthood (they are indeed a branch or mode of knight-service); nor by a minor, or a female tenant; for these a deputy of sufficient rank is appointed, with the sovereign's licence²⁰. It may be well to note, in conclusion, that these services are to be considered as the rent or fine due for the enjoyment of the lands

²⁰ See Coke's *Institutes*, part i. sect. 158; also Madox, *Baronia Anglica*, p. 242, &c.

to which they are attached; and therefore, though the tenants are sometimes said to claim the service, they must be understood in reality as claiming the continuance of the estates, by appearing to fulfil the conditions on which they were granted.

The high stewardship of England belonged of old to the earls of Leicester, who were *senescalli regis de feodo*, or hereditary stewards⁸¹. It was first holden by the family of Grentemaisnel, with the lordship of Hinckley in the county of Leicester, and became connected with the earldom of Leicester by the marriage of an heiress of the lords of Hinckley: it afterwards descended to the illustrious house of De Montfort; and on the attainder of the last earl Simon de Montfort the stewardship with the earldom of Leicester was granted by Henry III. to Edmund his younger son, from whom it passed in descent to John of Gaunt king of Castile and Leon, who was admitted to the full enjoyment of its privileges at the coronation of his nephew Richard II.⁸² He was succeeded by his son Henry of Bolingbroke, who afterwards became king of England, when the office merged in the crown. From

⁸¹ See Madox's *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 35. Selden's *Titles of Honor*, part II. ch. 5, x.

⁸² "*Die Jovis proximo ante coronationem dictus Johannes de Gaunt sedebat tanquam seneschallus in alba aula Westmonasterii, ad audienda clamea, billas, et petitiones de officiis jure eis debitis in coronatione regis.*"—*Record of Claims*, Rich. II. In the vignette prefixed to this book is a representation of the king of Castile in the exercise of his authority.

this time our kings have been relieved from the counsels and assistance of an hereditary high steward, which would have ill suited the autocracy of a Tudor or a Stuart, and the office hath only been granted for the time of some public solemnity, when the exercise of it was indispensable. In late reigns also the presidency of the court of claims hath been usually given to commissioners appointed by the sovereign with power to do all such acts with regard to this court as the high stewards of England had been used to do in former times²³.

§ 4. *Of the Lord Great Chamberlain.*

THE duties and perquisites of this officer, as stated in an abstract of the claims of the time of James II. are "to carry the king his shirt and clothes the morning of the coronation, and, with the lord chamberlain [of the household], to dress the king²⁴: to have forty yards of crimson velvet for a robe; also the king's bed and bedding and furniture of his chamber where he lay the night before, with his wearing apparel and

²³ "*Omnia et singula quæ de jure in hac parte requirantur, faciendi, exercendi, et expediendi, adeo planè, liberè, et integrè sicut aliquis seneschallus Angliæ eadem audire, terminare, facere, et expedire temporibus retroactis consueverit.*"—Commission, in Sandford's *Cor. of James II.* p. 7.

²⁴ From the peculiar nature of the duties above described it will be evident that on some occasions a female deputy must have been appointed. At the coronation of queen Anne the office was, I believe, performed by Sarah duchess of Marlborough.

night-gown: also to serve the king with water before and after dinner, and to have the basons and towels, and cup of assay." Of these extraordinary fees the robe is all that is usually received in kind: the cup is not allowed by the court of claims, the rest are compounded for in a sum of money. The investiture of the sword and spurs belongs to the great chamberlain, and the oblations for the altar are delivered by him to the king. As governor of the palace he superintends the fitting-up of the great hall for the coronation feast, and he is a principal assistant during the whole of this august ceremony.

The office of great chamberlain of England was for a long time enjoyed by the family of De Vere, earls of Oxford²⁵, having been granted to them by Henry I.²⁶ it is now attached to the antient barony of Willoughby D' Eresby.

§ 5. *Of the Lord High Constable.*

THE service performed by the lord high constable at a coronation is that of attending the royal person in the processions, in which he walks with the earl marshal, next to the high steward, bearing in his hand the staff of his office. The constable assists at the de-

²⁵ Several manors, parcel of their honour, are said in old records to be holden by the service of chamberlainship.

²⁶ See the charter of Henry I. in Madox's *Baronia Anglica*, p. 158.

livery of the regalia by the chapter of Westminster, and conducts the champion to the performance of his challenge, during the feast. The high constablenesship was formerly hereditary in the house of Bohun, earls of Hereford; but since the attainder of the duke of Buckingham in the reign of Henry VIII. it has only been granted for the time being.

§ 6. *Of the Earl Marshal.*

THE following particulars are given by Mr Edmondson in his account of the functions of this great office⁹⁷.

“According to the usages said to have been claimed in the reign of king Henry II. by the then marshal, Gilbert earl of Pembroke, the marshal, in right of his office, standing next to the king on the day of his coronation, was entitled to bear in his hand the royal crown, to assist in setting it on the king’s head, and when so placed, holding it by the *fleur de lis* fixed on its front, to sustain it during the remainder of the solemnity; at which time no other person was to presume to touch it. Upon what grounds earl Gilbert founded his pretensions to these very great and extra-

“*Robertus de Ver comes Oxon. clamavit officium Camerarii et Aquarii, et adimplevit quamvis esset infra ætatem, petens basinas et linthea, et de jure recipiens.*”—*Claim temp. Rich. II. Leland, Collectanea*, vol. I. p. 253.

⁹⁷ *Complete Body of Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 67.

ordinary honours cannot well be ascertained. The records of the coronation claims are silent in regard to this matter; neither do the antient historians of the kingdom, the *Liber Regalis*, or any other of the old rituals or formularies, mention that such services had, or of right ought to have been, performed, either by Gilbert earl of Pembroke or any other marshal of England at the coronation of any of our kings. On the other hand, the authenticity of *Les usages que Gilbert counte de Striguil claimoit a user par l'office Mareschalsie*, and of which many antient copies are still extant in the public as well as in private libraries, hath never been doubted²⁸.

“On the coronation day and on all high festivals it was incumbent on the marshal to appease and prevent all tumults, noise, and disturbance in the king's presence.—He was also to keep the doors of the great hall and of all other rooms within the royal palace excepting that of the king's bed-chamber; and in all things to execute the office of High Usher. For these services he received as his fees the horse and the palfrey on which the king and the queen rode to

²⁸ A copy of this document is given by Mr Edmondson from a manuscript in the Cotton Library, Nero, B vi. I here subjoin an extract from another *ms.* of the same collection, which exactly agrees with the former as to the points in question. “*Officium Mareschalli Anglie.*—“*Le cont doit estre plus pres [au roy] quant il seroit coronne, et il doit la corone en sa mayn tenir, et au mettre de la corone la test du roy doit le conte mettre la mayne a la flour devant, et tenir celle flour en sa mayn a su-*

the place of their coronation; together with their bridles, saddles, and caparisons⁸⁹; the cloth spread on the table whereat the king dined; the cloth of estate which hung behind him at the time of dinner; the chines of all swans and cranes served up; and sundry other fees appertinent to the office of high usher. Every person committed to his custody by the high steward on coronation days paid him a fee of fourpence; and all fines and amercements set upon offenders, and not amounting to more than 3s. 4d. each, belonged to him."

The personal duties ascribed to the earl marshal in the later ceremonials are chiefly those of attending with his staff of office in the procession, next to the high steward, and in the same line with the constable, and of serving in the hall at the bringing up of the feast, and the performance of the challenge. By his direction the officers of arms arrange the order of processions and the places of the peers and others attending the coronation: indeed most of the arrangements during the ceremony are under this great officer's superintendence.

tenir la coroune, pur ceo q'il est mareschal en pees et en guerre," &c.—Vesp. B vii. fol. 100, b. The same may be found in MS. Harl. 592, which adds "Et nul autre lay person doit mettre la mayne a la corone, forsque le count mareschall." See also MS. Harl. 1065 and 4176.

⁸⁹ "*Le count mareschal doit avoir le palfray le roy ove tui le heneys et le palfray la roigne ove la chambre qant ils viendront au lieu ou ils devont estre corounez a lour descendre.*"—MS. Cott. ut supra.

§ 7. *Of the State Officers of Scotland.*

SINCE the union of Scotland with England it has become necessary that the state officers of the former kingdom should assist in the coronation of the common sovereign. Scotland as well as England had in old times her HIGH STUART or Steward; but in the reign of Robert II. this office merged in the crown, and has from that time been held by the heir apparent. The chief state officers who acted in the Scottish coronations before the union were the GREAT CHAMBERLAIN, the HIGH CONSTABLE³⁰, and the GREAT MARISCHAL, whose respective duties were nearly similar to those of the same officers in England.

Among the other attendants were the hereditary USHER³¹ and Usher of the Green Rod, LION king at Arms, and the heralds: these, with the High Constable, have their places in the present form of procession at the English coronations.

§ 8. *Of State Offices claimed at Coronations.*

THE present section will include certain offices which belong more particularly to the ceremony of

³⁰ The earl of Errol is the present hereditary constable.

³¹ In the reign of George II. a petition was presented to the court of claims by Sir A. Cockburne, for his admission to the exercise of this office; and in July 1814 Patrick Walker, esq. was knighted, on the right of his office being recognised, as hereditary usher of Scotland.

coronation, and which from their being of the nature of grand sergeancies are made the subject of claims in the high steward's court; thus differing from the great offices before described, which do not require its allowance or recognition. That services of a domestic or a menial character should be annexed to the titles and territories of the great may excite the surprise of some not versed in the history of feudal dignities; but that they have long been so connected, and have enjoyed in many kingdoms the high rank of offices of state, is sufficiently obvious from what has already been observed. To discuss the origin of such services in general is not within the present design, but it is hoped that some new light may appear to be thrown on those following, which are connected with our subject.

The hereditary GRAND ALMONER of England attends at a coronation to be the distributor in alms of certain money collected in a silver dish, and of all the blue cloth upon which the king walks from the throne in Westminster hall to the door of the abbey church. He claims as the fee of his office the said silver dish, with a linen towel or napkin which covers it, and a tun of good wine; but the former of these only are allowed.

The office of grand almoner belongs to the barony of Bedford, which before the reign of Richard II. was

possest by the noble family of Beauchamp³³. At the coronation of Henry IV. it was claimed by John lord Latimer and Thomas de Mowbray, in virtue of lands formerly belonging to Beauchamp lord Bedford³⁴: by the former as one of the coheirs by the marriage of his ancestor with Maud de Beauchamp; and by the latter as inheriting a part of the barony which had passed in marriage with Maud daughter of Beatrix de Beauchamp to the family of Botetort. "At the coronation of James II. the earl of Exeter, descended from the Latimers by the marriage of his ancestor Thomas earl of Exeter with one of the coheiresses of John Neville the last lord Latimer; Sir George Blundell, descended from Ela de Beauchamp [daughter of William de Beauchamp who died in the reign of Edward I.] through the Pigots and Gascoignes; and Thomas Snagg, esq. who, it is presumed, possessed some lands parcel of the barony by purchase, claimed the office of almoner, which was adjudged for that time to the earl of Exeter³⁵."

THE CHIEF BUTLER is one of the principal officers who serve at the royal feast of the coronation: but of

³³ "Dominus N. de Bello-Campo olim Bedfordie Elemosinarie tenere solebat officium, qui pannum radiatum stratum sub pedibus regis incedentis a camera sui palatii usque ad pulpitem monasterii dividere debet cum sacrista Westm' ita quod pars panni que est in ecclesia cedet in usus sacriste, et reliqua pars que est extra ecclesiam per manus dicti elemosinarii regis pauperibus distribuetur."—Chron. Rishang. MS. Cott. Faust. B ix.

the duties which he is to perform we have no other account than such as may be gathered from the ceremonials. The fees which are claimed by the butler are the best gold cup and cover, with all the vessels and wine remaining under the bar, and all the pots and cups, except those of gold or silver, which shall be in the wine-cellar after dinner³⁶.

The office of botelry was assigned by the Conqueror to William de Albini, who came into England with him, as the service to be performed for the castle and manor of Buckenham, with the manors of Kenninghall, Wymondham, and Snetesham, in the county of Norfolk³⁷.

It is not among the objects of this work to notice all the noble families who have borne the official honours described in it; but as the exercise of the chief botelry hath at various times been contested, and the tenure on which the office is founded hath never been sufficiently explained, it will be necessary to give some particulars of its history and descent.

William de Albini above mentioned was succeeded by William his son, who in the reign of Henry II.

³⁶ *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 133.*

³⁵ *Lysons's Magna Britannia, i. p. 46.*

³⁶ *Sandford's Cor. of James II. p. 134.* A curious portrait of the first chief butler, with a covered cup in his hand, is engraven in *Strutt's Dress and Habits, &c. vol. ii. pl. 109.*

³⁷ "*Tenetur verò Buckenham illa ea lege ut domini sint Pincernæ in inauguratione regum Angliæ.*"—*Camden's Britannia, Norfolk.*

was made earl of Arundel and Sussex. From him descended Hugh de Albini, earl of Arundel³⁸, after whose death in 1243 his estates were divided between his four sisters and coheirs, of whom Mabell, the eldest, wife of Robert de TATESHALE, had the manor of Buckenham as her portion, and Cecily, the second, wife of Roger de MONTEALT, that of Kenninghall. The descendants of this Roger de Montealt successively enjoyed his part of the inheritance; and in 1276 it was found that their manor of Kenninghall, with Buckenham and Wymondham, was held in chief of the king by the service of botelry³⁹. In the first year of Edward III. (1327) it appears that Robert de Montealt petitioned the king to be admitted chief butler on the coronation day, in right of his manors of Kenninghall and Snetesham, against the earl of Arundel, who claimed this office as belonging to his earldom: his petition states that at the coronation of Edward II. he offered to perform his part of the service; but that Edmund earl of Arundel by his great power (though he never had any of the manors attached to it) obtain-

³⁸ This earl served by deputy the office of butler at the marriage of Henry III. and the coronation of queen Eleanor.—Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, folio, vol. i. p. 253. ³⁹ Blomefield, p. 143.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 144, from a *ms.* in the library of Magd. Coll. Cambr. I find another record of this petition in the Cotton library, *Vesp. C. xiv.* p. 133, for which see Appendix to this book.

⁴¹ Blomefield asserts, but I know not on what evidence, that "this service is still performed by the several manors in their respective turns."—p. 251.

ed the office, to the disherison of him and his parcener. The barons of the Exchequer (to whom the petition was referred) say in the return that at the coronation of queen Eleanor, Hugh de Albini, then earl of Arundel, in right of these manors and not of his earldom served the office by his deputy the earl Warren. We are told⁴⁰ that the petition was favourably received, and that Robert de Montealt performed the service (Tateshale's heirs being under age), and obtained a decree "that that office henceforward should be performed by the several lords of the manors of Kenninghall, Bokenham, and Wymondham by turns⁴¹." The right of the family of Montealt, as lords of Kenninghall, has however since reverted to the earls of Arundel: the manor had on two occasions passed into their hands, and was reunited to the earldom in the noble house of Howard, whose descendants now hold it⁴².

We now return to Robert de Tateshale who married the elder sister and coheir of Hugh earl of Arundel, for he was found to hold the castle and manor of Buckenham by the same service of botelry⁴³; and

⁴⁰ The manor of Kenninghall had several times fallen to the crown, but was probably always regranted on the original tenure of botelry. The office was claimed for the duke of Norfolk at queen Anne's coronation "*Plûtôt que mesme le duc tienne en son droit et en son demesne le mannor de Kenninghall ove les appurtenances en le county de Norfolk, qui et auncientment et de long temps par devant fuit tenus en grand serjeantie cest asavoir destre le principal et chief botelier d'Angleterre.*"

⁴³ Record quoted by Blomefield, p. 253.

on descent from him the latest contesting claims to the office are founded. The rights of his family and successors as coparceners with the family of Montealt are fully recognised in the petition from the latter in the reign of Edward III.; and in the reign of Richard II. we find Sir John de Clyfton acknowledged as holding part of the Tateshale estates on the tenure of botelry⁴⁴: these estates were indeed afterwards divided, and among them the manor of Buckenham; but on their reunion in the family of Knevet the tenure was remembered⁴⁵, and the claim to the office revived. At the coronation of Edward VI. when the earl of Arundel petitioned to be chief butler, "Sir Edmund Knevet, knight, did exhibit a like bill of clayme for the saide office," but as he "did not shewe any maner of prooffe for the same, ne followed the sute therof," it was allowed to the earl, saving the right of others⁴⁶. Again in the time of Charles II. "Hugh Audley, esquire, as lord of the manor of Buckenham in Norfolk claimed to be butler, but was

⁴⁴ "*Johannes de Clyfton partem m. de Grishawe in Wymondham, per servitium Pincerne ad coronationem regis, et m. de Topcroft per predictum servitium.*—Esc. 11 Ric. II. MS. Harl. 2087, p. 218.

⁴⁵ "*Et ibidem continetur quod dictus Johannes Knyvet oneratus fuit de xx li. de relevio suo pro castro de Bokenham cum pertin' ac maneriis de Veteri Bokenham, Nova Bokenham Lathes, et duabus partibus m. de Grishagh in villa de Wymondham, cum pertin' in dicto com' Norf' que de dicto nuper rege tenebantur in c. per servic' essendi Pincerna regis die coronationis sue.*"—Mich. fines an. 11 Hen. VII. MS. Harl. 5174, p. 13.

⁴⁶ MS. Coll. Vesp. A v.

not allowed," the office being assigned to the duke of Norfolk, as earl of Arundel and lord of the manor of Kenninghall⁴⁷. From this time we do not find the lords of Buckenham appearing in the court of claims; the possessions of the Albinies have since been further divided, and their antient baronial seat is separated from the manors formerly dependant upon it⁴⁸: the service of chief butler is therefore always performed by the dukes of Norfolk and earls of Arundel. With respect to their right in it, and the tenure upon which it is founded, we may perhaps conclude that the office was originally vested in the possessor of the entire barony⁴⁹ or lordship of Buckenham, the castle being the *caput serjantiæ*; but that on the partition of this lordship and the subsequent redivision of that part of it which consisted mainly of the manors of Buckenham, the performance of the office was allowed to the possessors of the more entire part (comprising the manor of Kenninghall), and the rather, from their superiority in rank above the descendants of the other parceners, and from the title which

⁴⁷ Sandford's *Cor. of James II.* p. 2. The right of the house of Norfolk is evidently not founded on the earldom of Arundel, though the possession of this honour is made a ground of claim in the later reigns. The tenement in sergeanty is clearly distinct from the earldom, which was not enjoyed by the first of the Albini family.

⁴⁸ The castle of Buckenham is now in the possession of Mr Samuel Taylor.

⁴⁹ "Prior de Theford habet," &c. "*de elemos' com' Aru'dell' et est de BANO' sua de Bukē ham, quam tenet de dño rege in cap.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 293.

they enjoyed having been early connected with the office⁵⁰.

The *Dapifer* or SEWER is the officer who brings up and arranges the dishes at a feast⁵¹, a service which is performed with great ceremony at the coronation dinner of our kings. The *dapifer* was a person of high rank and dignity in the courts of some European sovereigns: we have before seen that in the Empire he was in the number of the electors, and his title hereditary. In England, although the office appears not to have attained so high distinction, it is yet treated by the old ceremonials as one of the most honourable courtly services.—I do not, indeed, find that it is any where said to have been held by tenure of lands, or to have been an hereditary honour; but this may perhaps be inferred from the following records. In a *ms.* of claims in the reign of Henry V. the bishop of Winchester, as guardian of "*Wautier le seign^r Fitz Wautier*," delivered his claim "*a checun coronement de roys et de royns dester Sewer de tout la table de roy et de royne*"⁵². At the coronation of Elizabeth

⁵⁰ The circumstances of this tenure may be compared with those of the barony of Bedford, noticed at p. 118.

⁵¹ "*Sewers etiam dicuntur antambulones fercularii, qui in epulis pastinas delibant et disponunt. A Gall. asseoir opinatur Cowellus, hoc est disponere, collocare; nam vidisse se refert librum antiquum Gallicum de ministris regie Anglorum aula in quo hic idem Assecour appellatus est; et apud Fletam, lib. ii. c. 15, Assessor, quia ordinator, collocator, dispositor.*"—Spelm. Gloss. v. *Sewera*. ⁵² MS. Harl. 592, p. 24.

queen of Henry VII. "the lorde Fitzwater, sewer, in his surcote, with tabard sleeves and a hooode about his neck, and his towell above all, sewed the messes⁵³:" and at that of Edward VI. the office of sewer was claimed by Henry earl of Sussex, lord Fitz-Walter, in virtue of letters patent dated 25 Henry VIII.⁵⁴

The barony of Fitz-Walter, to which the office of sewer thus appears to have belonged, was erected in the time of Edward I. and descended to Robert Radcliffe de Fitz-Walter, who was made earl of Sussex by Henry VIII. From the death of the last earl without issue it was in abeyance till the 22d of Charles II. when it was revived on the claim of Benjamin Mildmay, esq.⁵⁵ but is since extinct.

The office of GRAND CARVER seems to have been attached to the earldom of Lincoln, before that title merged in the crown by the accession of king Henry IV. It was claimed by the duke of Lancaster as earl of Lincoln, at the coronation of his royal nephew Richard II.⁵⁶ and at that of Henry IV. son of the

⁵³ Ives's *Select Papers*, p. 140.

⁵⁴ *MS. Cott. Vesp. A v.* also Collins's *Extinct Peerage*, tit. Radcliffe.

⁵⁵ Collins's *Proceedings*, &c. concerning *Baronies by Writ*, folio, p. 168 et seq.

⁵⁶ "Joannes rex Castellæ et Legionis, dux Lancastriæ, coram dño rege Richardo et consilio suo comparens, clamavit ut comes Leyrcestrie officium Senescaliæ;" &c. "et ut comes Lincoln' ad scindendum et secandum coram rege sedente ad mensam die coronationis," &c. "Hugo comes Stafford officium scindendi coram rege pro eo curabat."—*Claims*, Rich. II.

duke of Lancaster, was performed by John earl of Somerset, to whom the king assigned his own right of cutting and carving at the royal feast⁵⁷.

The CHIEF CUPBEARER is the lord of the manor of Great Wimondley in Hertfordshire⁵⁸, who claims to serve the king with the first cup that he shall drink at dinner, and to have the said cup, which is of silver gilt, as his fee. The manor of Wimondley was granted on this tenure by William I. to Fitzteck a noble Norman, whose descendants held it till the reign of Henry II. when this name expired, and the manor came by marriage to Reginald de Argenton⁵⁹, whose family in allusion to their office afterwards bore three silver cups for their arms. In the time of Henry VI. it passed to Sir William Allington, in whose family it remained till the death of Giles the last lord Allington of Wimondley, when it was sold, but afterwards repurchased by lord Allington of Killard, who was admitted to the office of cupbearer at the coronation of George I. Upon his decease without issue

⁵⁷ MS. Cotton. Vespas. C xiv. p. 133.

⁵⁸ "Wimondley—honoratissimo apud nos jure (grand sergeantie jurisperiti nostri vocant) tenetur, nimirum ut possessor regibus Angliæ quo die inaugurantur primum ministret scyphum, et sit quasi regis Pocillator."—Camden's *Britannia*, Herts.

⁵⁹ "Ric' de Argenton tenet Wilemundeslea de dño rege per serjant' scil' ad serviend' de una cupa argentea ad coronacionem dñi regis, et antecessores sui tenuerunt de antecessoribus dñi regis de veteri feoffamento per idem servicium."—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 270.

it descended to his four nieces; one of whom being married to Sir Richard Grosvenor, bart. he performed the service, as their deputy, at the coronation of George II.⁶⁰

The office of GRAND PANNETER, which has been some time extinct, was formerly holden with the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp in the county of Leicester. The duty of the grand panneter was "to beare the salte and the kerving knives from the pantre to the kinges dyning table⁶¹;" and his fees were the saltsellers, knives, and spoons laid before the king at the coronation feast. It has been remarked that the chief business of the panneter, judging from the name of his office, was to provide bread; and upon that account the coverpane has been allowed at former coronations to those who have executed it⁶². The office of grand panneter is of great antiquity, and was performed of old by the Beauchamps earls of Warwick, and the subsequent possessors of Kibworth. The earliest historical notice of it is at the coronation of Eleanor queen of Henry III. in the year 1236⁶³. It

⁶⁰ Chauncy's *Historical Antiq. of Hertfordshire*, p. 362. Claims, Anne and George II. *ms.*

⁶¹ *MS. Cott. Vesp. A v.*—Forks do not appear to have been antiently used in the business of the table, unless perhaps for carving.

⁶² Argument on the claim of Sir W. Halford in Nichols's *Hist. and Antiq. of Leicestershire*, vol. ii. 645.

⁶³ Red Book, fol. 232, quoted by Nichols.

is among the claims of service in the reign of Richard II.⁶⁴ and all the following ones which are extant, till the reign of Edward VI. when it was allowed to John viscount Lisle, afterwards duke of Northumberland. Upon the attainder of this nobleman the manor fell to the crown, and was by queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Ambrose Dudley, his eldest son, by the service of pannetry; but he dying without issue (his brother Robert earl of Leicester, on whom the reversion had been entailed, being dead the year before), the manor once more reverted to the crown, and the office of grand panneter was thereby extinct⁶⁵. The claim hath since been revived at the coronation of George II. but it was disallowed by the court.

The CHIEF LARDINER, as his title sufficiently testifies, is entrusted with the care and management of the royal larder, and of all provision contained in it. His fees are the remainder of the beef, mutton, venison, kids, lard, and other flesh, as also the fish, salt, &c. remaining in the larder after the coronation feast.

The office of chief lardiner or larderer belongs to the manor of Scoulton in the county of Norfolk,

⁶⁴ "Thomas de Bellocampo comes Warwik petebat officium Panetrie, ratione manerii de Kibworth com' Leicestr', pro quo haberet salinum, cultellos, et cochlearia posita ante regem die coronationis; et habuit."

⁶⁵ Nichols's *Hist. and Antiq. of Leicestershire*, vol. ii. pp. 635-647.

called Burdeleys manor, which is holden by this service in grand sergeanty. The estate was in the possession of Hugh de Burdeleys in the reign of Henry II., and his son is said to have held it by the above described service⁶⁶. In 1256 it was found that Jeffery de Burdeleys held the manor by the sergeanty of keeping the king's larder on the day of his coronation, or, as another record says, when he would; and in 1333 that Margaret widow of John de Burdeleys held it by the service of coming to the king's larder on the coronation day with a knife in her hand, to serve the larderer's office⁶⁷. At the coronation of Richard II. the service was performed by John Fitz-John, who had married an heiress of Burdeleys⁶⁸; and we are told that "Edmund de la Chambre, lord here, served the office at the coronation of Henry IV. without contradiction, no one having ever claimed it besides the lords of this manor⁶⁹."

Scoulton having afterwards passed into the family of Nevile, lords Abergavenny, the office of chief lardiner hath since been generally performed by them. Their right hath not however been an undisturbed one, for this honourable service hath at several times

⁶⁶ "*Hug' de Burdeleys tenet quandam serjantiam in Sculethon per servitium Lardar' dñi regis.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 283.

⁶⁷ Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, folio, 1739, p. 612.

⁶⁸ "*Joannes Fixjohan petebat per manerium de Scultton in Northfolk jure uxoris suæ, le office de estre chief Lardonier.*"—*Claims*, Rich. II.

⁶⁹ Blomefield, *ut supra*; see also *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xlv*, p. 133.

been counterclaimed by the lords Maynard, as lords of the manor of Easton in the county of Essex. We are informed by the historian of the county that "this estate was holden by the serjeancy of being the king's lardner at his coronation;" and that "William de Clinton held it so in the reign of king Richard I., Ralph le Moyne in Henry the Third's reign, lord Stourton in that of Henry IV. &c.⁷⁰" Mr Madox, however, denominates this tenure merely "a sergeanty of the king's lardry⁷¹;" and as there were several hereditary services belonging to most of the departments of the royal household⁷², it is highly probable that more than one was attached to that under discussion, and therefore that the sergeanty of Easton is to be regarded rather as assistant to that of Scoulton than as partaking of the same rank, that of the chief lardiner of England.

The existence of several sergeancies of the larder is admitted in the judgement on the claim of the lord Maynard, in the reign of James II. though they are there considered (but, as I presume to think, erro-

⁷⁰ Morant's *Hist. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 433.

⁷¹ *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 335. It is so styled in several records: *Mag. Rot. 5 Ric. I. rot. 11.* (cited by Morant) has "*Eston, que est jiantia lardar' dñi regis,*" &c.

⁷² See the extinct services in the 10th section of this book.

⁷³ Sandford, p. 133. A like opinion was exprest by the court of Anne, "*quod officium et servitium prædictum, per prædictas sepeales petitiones clamatum, est unum et idem officium essendi Lardinarius tantum et non diversa,*" &c.—*Claims, ms.*

neously) as relating to one and the same office. The claim was "referred to the king in regard that it appeared that the said two manours, as also the manour of Shipton Moyne and other manours also, were held severally by the said service of being larderer at the coronation⁷³." That such a conflicting system of tenures should ever have existed it is not very easy to believe; nor will our early records confirm the supposition: it appears rather that the manor of Easton was held by the service of being CATERER to the kitchen and larder (as indeed the lords of it claim to be)—and that it was connected in this service with those of Shipton, Madington, and Oweres, which were originally held by the same lords⁷⁴. From the foregoing view of the subject it may be suggested that the claim of the lords of Easton should be allowed as distinct from that of the lords of Scoulton, and not as countervailing it; and that a separate service should be performed by each in conformity with the records of their respective tenures.

⁷³ "Radulphus de Moigne held Estham [Easton] in Essex by serjeanty ut sit Emptor domini regis in coquina sua; i. Caterer.—*Pla. Cor.* 11 Hen. III." Blount's *Fragmenta*, p. 26. "*Rad. le Moyne ten' Estham ad Montem ut sit Emptor pro domino rege de coquina sua.*"—Morant.

At the coronation of Henry V. Sir John Moigne, knt. claimed to hold the manors of Ogres in Dorset, Shipton Moigne in Gloucestershire, Madington in Wilts, and Eyston atte Mount in Essex, "*per les services destre Achatour del kuytine le roy et Lardiner le roy a temps de coronementz de royes et de roignes Dengleterre,*" &c.—*MS. Harl. 592*, p. 24. To this claim are appended sundry evidences, from which the following are

To the manor of Ashill or Ashley in the county of Norfolk belonged formerly the office of NAPIER, the possessor of which had charge of the napery or table linen at the coronation dinner. In the reign of Henry I. it was held with this service in grand sergeanty by William de Hastyns, who was also steward of the household to that king. "In the account of the coronation of Eleanor wife of Henry III. it is said that Henry de Hastyns, whose office it was to serve the linen from antient time, served the napery that day, and took the table cloths and napkins as his fee⁷⁵." The manor and its attendant office continued in this family till the reign of Henry IV. when they passed to that of Grey; for at the coronation of that king in 1399 Reginald lord Grey de Ruthyn exercised the office and received the fees⁷⁶. In 1512 Richard Grey, earl of Kent, sold the manor of Ashill to Sir Henry Wyat, by whose grandson Thomas it was forfeited to the crown: during the reign of Philip and Mary it was granted to Henry Bedingfield, esquire; but as the tenure was then changed to knight-service, the grand sergeanty was consequently extinct.

taken:—"Lib. Feod. temp. R. Edw. fil. R. Hen.—*Pars serjantie Will. le Moyne in Madinton, pertinens ad manerium suum de Sipton in com. Glouc. pro qua serjantia integra debuit esse Emptor coquine dñi regis.—Rad. Monachus tenet manerium de Oweres per servitium serjantie de coquina.*" (See *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 147, 164.) So also Camden; "*Radulphus Moien tenuit manerium de Owres per servitium serjantie de coquina, dono illidem regis Henrici Primi.*"—*Britannia*, in Dorset.

The office of napier hath indeed been twice claimed by the inheritors under the new grant; but as the petitions could have no ground of support, they were of course rejected⁷⁵.

§ 9. *Of certain particular Services usually claimed and performed at Coronations.*

THE Bishop of DURHAM and the Bishop of BATH and WELLS claim jointly of old custom to assist or support the king in the procession; the first walking on his right hand, the latter on his left. So early as the reign of Richard I. we find the predecessors of these prelates in the enjoyment of this distinction⁷⁶; but the manner or time of their obtaining it has not been brought to light.

The Dean and Chapter of WESTMINSTER claim for the dean to instruct the king in the rites and ceremonies used at his coronation, and to assist the archbishop in performing divine service; also, that they

⁷⁵ Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. i. p. 615.

⁷⁶ *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.* p. 133.

⁷⁷ In the time of Henry VII. one Humfrey Tyrell claimed "for the love of God" to be "gardeine of the napery," in virtue of certain lands in Essex. See Ives's *Select Papers*, p. 123.

⁷⁸ "*Deinde venit dux Richardus; a cuius dextris ibat Hugo ep'us Dunelm', et Bathon' Reginaldus ep'us a sinistris.*"—*MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.* p. 130; also Brompton, p. 1158.

should have the keeping of the regalia and coronation robes⁷⁹. These privileges were enjoyed of old by the abbot and monks of this noble monastery, and were continued to their protestant successors by letters patent of queen Elizabeth. In earlier times, when the pious offices of the clergy were more frequently required than at present, the abbot was expected to attend the king for two or three days before the coronation, to prepare his mind for receiving the holy unction, as well as to instruct him in the conduct of the ceremony: and, in case the abbot by illness or absence were hindered from performing these duties, the convent had the power to choose one of their body to supply his place.

The fees which are claimed for this service are robes for the dean and his three chaplains and sixteen ministers of the church, the royal habits which are put off in the church, the several oblations, the furniture of the church, the staves and bells of the canopies held over the king and queen in the church, and the cloth on which their majesties walk from the west door to the theatre or platform⁸⁰. In addition to these they have sometimes claimed an ounce of gold

⁷⁹ "Abbate Westmonasterii, vel alio ejusdem monasterii monacho, ut præscriptum est, ad hoc electo, qui semper lateri regis adhærendo præsens debet esse pro dicti regis informatione in hiis quæ dictæ coronationis concernunt solemnitatem."—*Liber Regalis*. Concerning the latter part of the claim see Book II. § 9 of this work.

for their chanter, and an hundred manchet loaves, with the third of a tun of wine, for their repast⁸¹.

We now procede to the honours of the laity ; amongst whom the lord of the manor of SCRIVELSBY, in the county of Lincoln, is particularly distinguisht by his right to perform the noble and splendid service of KING'S CHAMPION⁸²,—the most perfect, perhaps, and most striking relique of feudalism that has come down to us from the ages of chivalry.

The duty of the champion is to ride into the hall where the feast of coronation is held, during dinner, mounted on one of the king's coursers, and clad in one of the king's best suits of armour ; he is attended by the lord high constable and the earl marshal, and by the mouth of a herald is to proclaim a challenge to any who shall deny that the king is lawful sovereign ; which being done, the king drinks to him from a gold cup, which, with its cover, he receives as his fee, and also the horse, saddle, suit of armour, and furniture thereto belonging.

The office of champion was originally held by the antient family of MARMION, whose name and titles

⁸⁰ Sandford, p. 132.

⁸¹ Claims at the Cor. of Q. Anne and George II. *ms.* The claim *temp.* Edw. VI. subjoins "asmuche mete as is mete for a kings rewarde."

⁸² He is sometimes erroneously styled champion of England, a title which is neither accordant with the nature of the service, nor supported by historical evidence.

have become so well known to the reader in the delightful *Tale of Flodden Field*, the hero of which is well announced as

“ ———— lord of Fontenaye,
Of Lutterward and Scrivelbaye,
Of Tamworth tower and town⁸³.”

With respect to the real history of the family, and of these possessions ;—the manor or barony of Scrivelsby, together with the castle of Tamworth in the county of Warwick, is said to have been conferred by William I. on Robert de Marmion, one of his followers. It is generally supposed that the family of Marmion held the barony of Fontney in Normandy by the service of being hereditary champions to the dukes of that province on the day of their inauguration, and that their lands in England were granted on the same tenure. We have indeed no very early account of the performance of this service, yet the above conjecture is supported by the following circumstances.

The possessions of the above-mentioned Robert having descended to Philip the last lord Marmion, on his decease without male issue (20 Edw. I.) the castle of 'Tamworth passed by his elder daughter and

⁸³ See Scott's *Marmion*, canto i. § 11, and Note.

⁸⁴ “ *Margareta, uxor Joannis Dymmok militis, clamabat per manerium de Scrivelby assertionem pro tuenda hereditate et jure regis ad coronam. Balduinus de Freville, miles, competitor ejusdem officii ratione manerii de*

celeir to the family of Frevile, and the manor of Scrivelsby with a younger daughter, to Sir Thomas Ludlow, from whom they descended to the family of Dymoke. This division of the inheritance gave rise to a contest for the service of champion, which, as it affords the earliest testimony to the existence of the office, shows it also to have been the condition of a tenure which had been long established.

At the coronation of Richard II. the championship was claimed by Sir John Dymoke, as the possessor of Scrivelsby, and likewise by Sir Baldwin de Frevile, as lord of Tamworth: a decision was then given that the latter was only holden by knight-service, and that the office was attached to the manor of Scrivelsby⁸⁴. At the next coronation, that of Henry IV., we find another Sir Baldwin renewing the claim of his father, and Dame Margaret Dymoke, then a widow, asserting the right of her own inheritance⁸⁵: the latter was however successful, and the claim of Frevile was not again put forward. The existence of the championship in times long antecedent to the period when it was thus contested may also be inferred from a curious petition, still extant, which was presented to king Henry IV. by the lady just men-

castello Tamworth in comit' Warwick, quia etiam cognatus, et ex parte hæres Lionessæ filie Philippi Marmion, ad quem spectabat castellum de Tamworth. Dymok officium faciebat, salvo jure Freville."—Claims, R. II.

⁸⁵ MS. Cott. Vespas. C xiv. p. 133.

tioned, for the recovery of certain fees due to her late husband, which she says he ought to have received as his predecessors had done in former times⁸⁶.

The foregoing remarks may be sufficient to show the antiquity of the service of champion; it is only necessary to add, that it remains in the family of Dymoke to the present day.

The Lord GREY de RUTHYN claims to carry the king's golden spurs among the regalia in the procession to the abbey. This service devolves upon the lord Grey by descent from the family of Hastings earls of Pembroke, who performed it in antient times⁸⁷.

The lord of the manor of WORKSOP in Nottinghamshire claims the service of finding a glove for the king's right hand, and of supporting his right arm while holding the sceptre royal. This service was attached to the manor of Farnham Royal in the county of Buckingham⁸⁸ (antiently held by the lords Furnival) till that manor was exchanged by Francis earl

⁸⁶ This petition, copied from the autograph in the British Museum, will be inserted in the Appendix to Book III. I should here add, that Blount in his *Fragmenta* cites an Inquest, 23 Edward III. as an evidence of the tenure of Scrivelsby.

⁸⁷ "Joannes, filius Joannis Hastings super comitis Penbrok, petebat ut portaret aurata calcaria regis," &c.—Claims, Rich. II. See *MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xiv.* p. 133. *Harl.* 592, p. 24. Collins on Baronies by Writ, p. 158, 9.

of Shrewsbury with king Henry VIII. for the site of the priory and manor of Worksop, which was granted by that king on the same tenure by letters patent of the 26th of November, in the 33d year of his reign. His grace the duke of Norfolk, as being descended from Thomas Howard earl of Arundel, and Alethea daughter and heiress of Francis earl of Shrewsbury, is its present possessor.

The Barons of the CINQUE PORTS claim to carry over the king in his procession a canopy of cloth of gold or purple silk, with a gilt silver bell at each corner, supported by four staves covered with silver, four barons to every staff; and to carry a like canopy in the same manner over the queen; having for their fee the canopies, bells, and staves, with the privilege of dining at a table on the king's right hand. The above service is performed by thirty-two of the barons (or free men) of the Ports, habited alike in crimson satin⁸².

The claim of the Cinque Ports is founded on a

⁸² *Esc. 10 Edw. II. Orig. de 39 Edw. III.*—Blount, p. 22. "*Gulielmus de Furnival petebat, per manerium de Farnham et kamelet de Cere, ut sustentaret brachium dextrum regis cum virgam auream manu teneret. Et hic Gulielmus paulo ante miles a rege apud Kenington factus officium fecit.*"—Claims, Rich. II.

⁸³ The number of barons deputed by each of the towns is as follows:—For Hastings, 3; Dover, 2; Hithe, 2; Rye, 2; Sandwich, 3; Ramney, 2; Winchelsea, 2; the same with either canopy.

prescriptive right, recognised by the charter of king Charles II. in which "consideration is had" of "the most pleasing and acceptable service which the barons of the Cinque Ports and of the antient towns aforesaid have performed and paid to us at our inauguration to the crown of this our kingdom of England, according as in times past they did and were bound to do, to our progenitors the kings and queens of England at their respective coronations, the time of the contrary being never remembered to have been⁹⁰." With respect to their fees some doubt may arise from the staves and bells being also claimed by the reverend dean and chapter of Westminster, whose right is countenanced by one of the Cottonian mss.⁹¹ but we will not venture an opinion on so delicate and important a subject.

The Lord Mayor and Commualty of London claim by prescription that the said mayor, and twelve citizens to be chosen by them, should assist the Chief Butler of England in the execution of his office, or, as it is exprest in their claim, "*de servir en le office*

⁹⁰ *Great and Antient Charter of the Cinque-Ports, &c.* 12mo. 1682, p. 68. In an account of the coronation of Richard I. we find four barons bearing a silk *umbraculum* on four lances.—*Chron. Johan. Cas-toris*, MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 130. See also M. Paris, *sub an.* 1226 (Hen. III.)

⁹¹ "*Quos pannos idem barones suo jure optinebant, sed hastæ cum campanellis debentur eccl'ie Westm' recto jure.*"—*Chron. Rishang.* MS. Cott. Faust. B ix.

de butlership in aydement del capital butler de Angleterre;" and that they should sit at a table next the cupboard on the left side of the hall. Also, that the lord mayor should serve the king after dinner with wine in a gold cup, and have the cup and its cover for his fee⁹². A similar claim is preferred by the same parties for the service of the queen.

The Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commualty of Oxford claim by virtue of their charter to serve in the office of botelry with the citizens of London, and to have for their fee three maple cups. The following account of this service is from a list of the claims in the time of Edward VI. "The mayor of Oxenford claimeth to ayde the chief butler, in their service of ale at the barr; and for profe shewed olde presidentes wherin it appered that the mayre of Oxenford hade done the service, wheruppon the erle of Arrondell, chief butler, gaue him his livery, and did admit him to do the said service⁹³." This duty was probably assigned to the city of Oxford by Henry I.; it is acknowledged in the charter of Henry II. and confirmed in that of Henry III.⁹⁴

⁹² "*Ministerium Pincernæ, quod ad eos [cives London.] ex antiquo jure spectare dignoscitur,*" &c.—M, Paris, sub an. 1236 (Hen. III.) "*Major Londini clamabat officium Pincernæ, et executus est, accipiens cupam auream.*"—Claims, Rich. II. ⁹³ MS. Cott. Vesp. A v.

⁹⁴ "*Ad firmam nostram nobis servient cum illis [civibus London.] de butelaria nostra.*"—*Liber Niger*, 1774, vol. ii. 820.

The cities of London and Oxford have not however been singular in their rights of courtly service. We learn from an old chronicle that at the coronation of Richard I. "*comites et barones, sicut eorum solebant patres, servierunt: civesque Cantuar' in panetria, cives London' in pincernaria, at in coquina, cives Winton' ministrabant*⁹⁵." Of the service performed by Canterbury we find no later account: with respect to that of Winchester, its learned historian, on the authority of Hoveden, asserts that the assistant butlership was the antient right of that city, but that the citizens of London purchased it, for the sum of two hundred marks, from Richard I.⁹⁶ and that Winchester was obliged to perform instead the less dignified service of the kitchen⁹⁷. It appears, indeed, that from some cause a contest did exist between these antient towns; but as this statement respecting it is at variance both with the above quotation, and with the charter of Henry II. to Oxford, and some expressions in Matthew Paris⁹⁸, we should have some difficulty in showing the precise duties at first imposed

⁹⁵ Chron. Johan. Castoris, MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 180.

⁹⁶ From a record quoted in the Appendix to Book III. it appears that the citizens of London in the reign of Edward III. would gladly have been excused from their honourable service.

⁹⁷ Milner's *Hist. of Winchester*, 4to, vol. i. p. 233.

⁹⁸ See the extract in the last page, note ⁹², to which the following may be added:—"Similiter et quidam cives aliquarum civitatum officia quæ sibi de jure antecessorum suorum competeabant, consummaverunt." "Ci-

on each. It may be thought sufficient to have explained those which are performed at the present day.

The lord of the Isle of MAN is bound by his tenure to bring two falcons to the king on the coronation day. This island was granted by Henry IV. on the forfeiture of the lord Scroop to Henry earl of Northumberland, to be holden in sovereignty by the service of bearing before the king and his successors, at their respective coronations, a sword called Lancaster sword, being that which the king wore at his landing in England⁹⁹. Some years afterward, being forfeited by the earl of Northumberland, the island was given to Sir John Stanley, upon condition of presenting to the kings of England at their coronation a cast of falcons¹⁰⁰, which service was performed by his descendants the earls of Derby, as lords of the isle of Man and castle of Pelham. During the present reign the sovereignty of the island has been purchased by the crown; but the territory is still held by the present lord, the duke of Athol, on this ancient tenure¹⁰¹.

vibus Londinensibus, merum adundanter cum vasis impreciablebus, undique largientibus, Wintoniensibus coquinæ et dapnum curam gerentibus."—M. Paris, sub an. 1236.

⁹⁹ *Pat. 1 Hen. IV.* Selden's *Titles of Honor*, first edit. p. 31. Claims, temp. Hen. IV. *MS. Cott. Vesp. C* xiv. p. 133.

¹⁰⁰ *Pat. 7 Hen. IV.* Selden, part I. ch. 3, i.

¹⁰¹ See an Act of Parliament, 5 Geo. III. cap. 26.

The lord of the manor of **NETHER BILSINGTON** in Kent claims the service of presenting to the king three maple cups on the day of his coronation¹⁰². This manor seems to have been held by William de Albini earl of Arundel, in the reign of Henry I. by a sergeanty of butlership. His descendant Richard Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel in the reign of Edward III. alienated it to Edmond Staplegate, who died possessed of it in the 46th year of that reign, holding it by the service of presenting three maple cups. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, between whom and Richard earl of Arundel, whose father had alienated the manor, there arose a contest at the coronation of Richard II. respecting the office of *chief* butler, which was claimed by the possessor of Bilsington¹⁰³. What the grounds of such a claim could have been we know not: it was however disallowed. The service of presenting the maple cups does not appear in some of the intervening records, but is admitted in the reigns of Charles II. James II. and their successors.

¹⁰² See a curious note on the use of maple cups in Hearne's *Liber Niger*, p. 351.

¹⁰³ The service by which the earls of Arundel held this manor appears to have been that of butler on Whitsunday, and not at the coronation, which was a different tenure. See Blount's *Fragmenta*, pp. 61, 62. In Mr Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, vol. ii. p. 625 ed. 4to, may be seen the record at large of this disputed claim:—Chaucer had the wardship of Staplegate. See also Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, vol. iii. p. 468.

The lord of the manor of HEYDON in the county of Essex claims one moiety of the said manor by the service of holding the towel to the king washing before dinner, and the other moiety by the service of holding the basin and ewer; but of these services the former only is now allowed: antiently the two moieties were commonly held by separate lords, each performing his own service. The manor of Heydon was possessed by the family of Picot in the reign of Henry II. and till that of Edward II.: it subsequently passed through the families of Wiltshire, Aspland, Soame, &c. The tenure above described is noticed in many antient records, and must have existed more than 600 years¹⁰⁴: the service may be considered as subsidiary to that of the lord great chamberlain, who is chief officer of the ewry, and claims himself to serve the water, receiving the basins and towels for his fee¹⁰⁵: the lord of Heydon "sheweth not the certentie of any fee in his clayme¹⁰⁶," and none is allowed to him.

¹⁰⁴ "*Petrus Picot tenet dimid' Heydene per serjantiam serviendi cum una toalia ad coronationem regis. Petrus filius Petri Picot tenet aliam medietatem, per serjantiam serviendi de bacinis.*"—*Lib. Rub. Scacc.* 137. "*Thom' Pikot de Radclive tenet medietatem de Heyden per serjantiam tenendi bacinum ad coron' dñi regis.—Thom' Pikot tenet aliam medietatem ejusdem manerij de Hayden per serjant' tenendi manutergium ad coronacionem dñi regis.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 266; see also Blount's *Fragmenta*, p. 27; and Morant's *Hist. and Antig. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 600.

¹⁰⁵ See page 112.

¹⁰⁶ *Claims*, Edw. VI. *M.S. Cott. Vesp. A. v.*

The manor of LISTON in Essex is held by the service of making wafers for the king and queen, and bringing them up to their table; the tenant having all the instruments of silver and other metal used in making the same, with the linen, and certain proportions of ingredients and other necessaries, and liveries for himself and two men. That the reader may not be ignorant of the composition of these royal wafers, and of the quantities of each ingredient allowed to the claimant, I subjoin a list of them from the record of a late coronation.

Imprimis un pipe de flower.

Item xxx loaves de sucre.

Item xx li. de almonds pur icille.

Item ij li. de powder de ginger.

Item $\frac{1}{2}$ li. de saffron pur bastrons.

Item i pipe d'osey.

Item iij gallons d'oyle.

Item i dozeine de towailles de Paris.

Item i dozeine aulnes de lyn pur couvertures.

Item ij Paris bulsters.

Item xl aulnes de streigners.

Item xx aulnes de canvas.

Item i dozein basins et bolles pur batre.

Item fuel sufficient.

Item vestures pur vostre suppliant et deux homes.

The manor of Liston was holden on the above tenure by the family surnamed De Liston, as early as

the time of Henry II. or king John, and the conditions have been regularly fulfilled by their successors¹⁰⁷. The service was performed by W. Campbell, esq. of Liston at the coronation of George II.

The lord of the manor of ADDINGTON (called Bardolf's manor) in the county of Surrey holds by the service of finding a man to make a mess called *gerout* in the king's kitchen, and bringing it to the table in his own person: the former part of the service is usually done by the king's master cook as deputy to the claimant. The reader will perhaps expect a more satisfactory account than can now be given of the dish which is so remarkably perpetuated by this antient tenure; our knowledge of it is derived only from the records of the estate, and in these both the viand and the manner of serving it are differently described. In the reign of the Conqueror the manor of Addington, or Edintone as it is called in Domesday Book, was held by Tezelin the king's cook, which will account for the origin of a culinary service: in that of Henry II. Bartholomew de Chesney held part of Edintun of the king in chief, *per serjeantiam coquinæ*,

¹⁰⁷ See Morant's *Hist. and Antiq. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 320. "*Godefr' de Liston tenet in Liston et Gosfeud per serjant' faciendi wafras ad coronacionem dñi regis.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 266. "*Richard' Lyons petebat per manerium de List', quod Listons ante tenebant, officium de les wafras, et executus est officium.*"—*Claims*, Rich. II. Some records say *fecit wafras*.

and in the time of Henry III. William de Aguillon held the manor by the service of making a dish on the coronation day called *giranit*, or *gyroun*, and if *seam* or fat were put into it, then called *malpigernoun*¹⁰⁸. With respect to the composition of this *gerout*, Mr Lysons remarks that "a dish of pottage was presented to the present king by Mr Spencer, as lord of the manor of Addington, but I cannot find that there exists any antient receipt for the making of it¹⁰⁹." As to its name, Mr. Blount (from a record quoted by him¹¹⁰) and some other writers call the pottage *dillegrout*, which is however merely from uniting the old French *del* to the original word: thus also in a record of the coronation of Edward VI.¹¹¹ the dish is called *degerount*, and "Brikked the king's m^r cooke" is deputed to make it. The estates of Sir John Leigh (in whose family the manor of Addington had long remained) having been divided in 1767 between his

¹⁰⁸ See Manning's *History and Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 557. "*Will^r Aguillon tenet quandam terram in villa de Adinton per serjantiam faciendi hastias in coquina dñi regis die coronacionis sue vel aliquis pro eo debet facere ferculum quoddam quod vocat^r Girunt, et si apponatur sagin tunc vocat^r Malpigernoun.*"—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 228.

¹⁰⁹ *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 6; the writer adds the following as a note:—"In a collection of antient cookery receipts of the fourteenth century, printed at the end of the royal household establishments published by the Society of Antiquaries, is a receipt to make a dish called Bardolf; though there is no evidence to support it, it would not be an unfair conjecture, as the Bardolfs were lords of Addington at the period above mentioned, to suppose that this might be the dish in question; it was called a pottage, and consisted of almond,

two coheiresses, this manor was allotted to the lady of H. Spencer, esq. and having been sold to the family of Trecothick, was in 1807 again sold by them to the see of Canterbury; the present archbishop is therefore the lord, and claimant of the above-described service¹¹².

§ 10. *Of certain Extinct Services, antiently performed at Coronations, with remarks on some of the foregoing claims.*

THE Earls of CHESTER appear in old times to have possessed a right of carrying *Curtana*, the first of the three royal swords. This is evident from Matthew Paris in the reign of Henry III. *Curtana* is also assigned to the earl of Chester in the reigns of Henry IV. and V.¹¹³ &c.; we find nevertheless from other authorities that at the coronations of Edward II.¹¹⁴

mylk, the brawn of capons, sugar and spices, chicken parboyld and chopped, &c.”

¹¹⁰ *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 1.

¹¹¹ *MS. Cott. Vesp. A v.*

¹¹² Manning, *ut supr.*

¹¹³ *MS. Cott. Faust. B ix.* In an abstract of Claims, Hen. V. as follows: “Comes Cestr’ qui primatum sibi vendicat deferendi gladium, portabit quem appellatur *Curtana*, et alium portabit comes Hunt’ tercium vero portabit comes Warr’.”—*MS. Cott. Tiber. E viii.* fol. 77. In the next page of the same ms. we find, however, “Mons. le duk de Lancaster’ al procession porta le chief espee appelle *Cartan*, le countie de March porta le seconde, le counte de Warr’ porta le t’ce.” See also *Liber Regalis*. Ranulph earl of Chester is said to have borne one of the three swords before Richard I. at Winchester in 1194:—Hoveden.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix to this Book, No. 4.

and of Richard II.¹¹⁵ it was carried by successive earls and dukes of Lancaster; and at that of Henry IV. by the king's eldest son, to whom he had assigned this right of his dutchy¹¹⁶.

The old Earls of PEMBROKE were used to bear the Second Sword in the royal procession, and the right was for some time preserved in claim by the families of Hastings and Grey de Ruthyn¹¹⁷, their descendants, but is now lost. The same office has also been claimed by the earls of SURREY¹¹⁸, with that of bearing the gold spurs (an honour still preserved by the house of Grey de Ruthyn), but their claims in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., the latest I meet with, are not allowed.

The Third Sword seems to have belonged to the Earls of WARWICK; they bore it in the coronations of Edward II.¹¹⁹ Richard II.¹²⁰ Henry IV. and Henry V.¹²¹ I do not find it claimed by them in later reigns.

¹¹⁵ "*Joannes rex Castellæ, &c. clamavit . . . ut dux Lancastriæ ad gerendum principalem gladium dñi regis vocatum Curtana die coronationis ejusdem.*"—Claims, Ric. II.

¹¹⁶ *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 133.*

¹¹⁷ "*Joannes filius Joannis Hastings nuper comitis Penbrok . . . petebat pro castello et villa de Tynby, la graunge de Kingeswod, le commote de Croytrache, le manoir de Chastel Martyn, et le manoir de Tregier, ut portaret secundum gladium. Richardus comes Arundel petiit idem ratione comitatus de Surrey, sed jus adjudicatum Joanni.*"—Claims, Ric. II. Also, *MSS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 133. Harl. 592, p. 24.*

¹¹⁸ See the last note. The bearing of some of these swords by certain other earls (of which instances are to be found); may perhaps

With regard to the annexation of the services now described to particular titles of nobility, and the contrarious claims to the enjoyment of them, one clue presents itself which may help us to explore the labyrinth, if it do not discover the retreat of truth. M. Paris, describing the coronation of the queen of Henry III. says that the sword Curtein was borne by the earl of Chester as a token that he is a COUNT PALATINE, and that he has authority by law to restrain the king if erring from his duty¹²⁰: now it appears that the same may be said (with regard to the title) of all the original holders of these honourable offices. The dutchy of Lancaster is, it is well known, a palatinate; Pembroke was also a county palatine, and the same rank appears to have once been attached to the earldoms of Warren and Surrey¹²¹. From these premises I shall venture to suggest that the honour of bearing a royal sword at coronations was assigned to the possessors of these

be accounted for by their connexion in titles or family with those mentioned in the text.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix to Book III. No. 4.

¹²⁰ "*Thomas de Bellocampo comes Warwick petebat officium gestandi tertium gladium coram rege, &c. et habuit.*"—Claims, Rich. II.

¹²¹ MSS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 133. Harl. 592, p. 24. See note ¹¹⁹.

¹²² "*Comite Cestrie gladium S. Edwardi qui Curtein dicitur ante regem bajulante, in signum quod comes est palatii, et regem, si oberret, habeat de jure potestatem cohibendi.*"—M. Paris, *sub an.* 1236. See also Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, Works, folio, p. 317.

¹²³ Selden's *Titles of Honor*, part II. ch. 5, viii. ix.

titles on account of their palatine rank; and that after the earldom of Chester was united to the crown by Henry III. the honour of bearing the *Curtana* might devolve upon another of that rank, as among the twelve peers of France, the duties of the higher peerage when vacant were performed by the possessor of the next in seniority, and so in succession¹²⁴: hence then the claim of the dukes of Lancaster¹²⁵. Upon the same grounds we may account for the bearing of the royal spurs; this was the service of a palatine. The bishop of Durham also is count palatine; and hence the service which he performs¹²⁶, a service nearly the same as that imposed on Castruccio duke of Lucca in the patent of his creation as *Comes palatii Lateranensis*, by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria (*A. D.* 1338¹²⁷.)

The right of assisting personally in the ceremonies of coronation and of bearing any of the royal insignia (except where such assistance forms part of the duty of a state officer, or service of a tenant in serjeanty) may indeed be regarded as the distinguishing mark of a palatine; and I have no doubt that

¹²⁴ Thus, at the coronation of Philip II. (1179) Henry the young king of England, duke of Aquitaine and second peer, officiated as duke of Burgundy and premier peer.—Menin, p. 51.

¹²⁵ The palatinate of Lancaster was erected by charter of Edward III.

¹²⁶ See page 133.

¹²⁷ "*Declarantes . . . tibi et successoribus tuis, ex prædicta comitatus dignitate competere jus assistendi perpetuò benedictioni, s. unctioni, et*

both the electors of Germany and the peers of France perform the functions respectively assigned to them in virtue of this rank, especially as in old writings several of their number are said to enjoy it¹²⁸.

In connexion with the three swords, we may add that the PREMIER EARL of England used to redeem that with which the king is invested, and which is offered at the altar; and also to bear it before the sovereign in the returning procession¹²⁹. This service was claimed at the coronations of Charles II. and James II. by the duke of Norfolk as earl of Arundel, but was not allowed.

The manors of KETTILBARSTON and NEDDING in Suffolk were granted in the 23d of Henry VI. to William de la Pole marquiss of Suffolk, to be holden by the service of carrying a golden sceptre with a dove at the top, upon the day of the coronation of the king of England, and another sceptre of ivory with a dove of gold at the coronation of the queen¹³⁰.

The lord of the manor of FINGRETH in the county of Essex claims the office of chamberlain to the queen and keeper of the chamber door on the day of coro-

coronationi successorum nostrorum, &c. et præcipue sociandi et deducendi ipsos Romanos principes, tempore coronationis fiendæ de eis," &c.—Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part II. ch. 1, xxxvii.

¹²⁸ Ducange, *voc. Comes*; Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part II. ch. 3, xvi.

¹²⁹ "*Comes dignior*," &c. *MS. Cott. Nero, C ix.* p. 165.

¹³⁰ Kirby's *Suffolk Traveller*, 273; Ives's *Select Papers*, p. 123.

nation, with the queen's bed and furniture as his fee, and likewise to have a clerk in the Exchequer to receive the queen's gold. This manor was holden by Gilbert de Sandford¹³¹, chamberlain to Eleanor queen of Henry III. and passed with his daughter and heiress to the family of Vere, earls of Oxford, who were said to hold it by the above-described service, till after 1562¹³². At the coronations of James II. and queen Anne the claim was made by Dr. Corey and his wife, and at that of George II. by William Fytche, esq. then lord, but was not allowed to them¹³³.

The manor of SHEEN in the county of Surrey was very early held by service to be performed at coronations. "The first mention I find of it," says Mr Lysons, "is in the reign of king John; when it was the property of Michael Belet, who held it by the service of being the king's butler, having been granted to his ancestors with that office annexed by Henry I.¹³⁴" He further informs us that John son of

¹³¹ "Gilb' de Saunford manerium de Magna Hormad, Fingrie, Ginges, et partem de Wylshameston per serjant' quod sit camerar' dñe regine."—*Testa de Nevill*, p. 266.

¹³² See Morant's *Hist. and Antiq. of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 58. "Robertus de Vere comes Oxoniæ tenet manerium de Fingroth in com' Essex per serjantiam essendi camerarius domini regis [sic, sed quære] die coronationis suæ; et idem Robertus et Matilda uxor ejus tenent manerium de Ginge-Reginæ per serjantiam custodiendi cameram dominæ reginæ die coronationis prædictæ."—*Pla. Cor.* 13 Edw. I. Essex. Blount's *Fragmenta Antiquitatis*, p. 53, 23.

Michael Belet left two daughters, between whom the manor was divided, one of them married to Oliver, and the other to Valletort.—To these particulars we may add that the exercise of his service of boteltry by Michael Belet is recorded by Matthew Paris¹³⁵, and that from the *Testa de Nevill*¹³⁶ we may infer its extinction by a change of tenure in the reign of Edward I. The precise nature of the service, so ill-defined in the accounts above cited, may be learned from another source to have been that of finding two white cups for the king on the day of his coronation¹³⁷; in this act consisted his butlership.

The present is an additional proof that although several manors unconnected with each other may have been said to be holden by the service of being butler, lardiner, or the like, yet that these terms are very frequently to be understood as meaning only a sergeanty of the buttry or lardry, or, in other words, a particular service of some kind in those departments of the royal house. The distinction between

¹³³ In the reign of Edward VI. a claim was admitted of usher and keeper of the KING's chamber door.

¹³⁴ *Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 436, quoting *MS. Harl.* 313. f. 21.

¹³⁵ *Sub an.* 1236, "*Ex officio, Pincerna fuit magister Michael Belet.*"

¹³⁶ In Surrey, under the head *Serjantie mutata in servic' militare*, is "*Joh'es de Valle Torta di' feod.*"—(p. 229.)

¹³⁷ "*Chenes.—Othonus de Grandison et Johannes de Valletorta et Alicia uxor ejus tenent villam de Chenes de serjantia inveniendi die coronationis regis duos albos ciphos ad prandium, et modo arrentata est ad viij s.*"
—*Pla. Cor.* 19 *Hen. III. Surrey.*—Blount, p. 82.

these several sergeancies hath seldom been observed or attended to ; yet the importance of such a distinction is sufficiently apparent from what hath been said of the disputed claim of the lords Abergavenny and Maynard, and of the tenure of the manor of Bilsington.

In the reign of James II. a claim was offered by William Weld, esq. as lord of the manor of WYNFRED in Dorsetshire, "to serve the king with water for his hands, and to have the bason and ewer for his fee : " but the claim was not allowed. The service here stated, and the fees due for its performance, appear to have been always enjoyed by the lord great chamberlain, yet they are assigned by very early records to the family of Newborough, the old proprietors of the manor of Wynfred¹³⁸ : perhaps, as in the above-mentioned cases, some difference may have existed in the duty to be performed which rendered it a distinct condition of tenure. It is to be remembered that in former times, though every class of service was subdivided among the tenants of the crown to increase the magnificence of the court and to swell the crowd of its retainers, yet the functions of all must have been exercised in concert, and must there-

¹³⁸ " *Newborowi hi tenuerunt hic Winfrott cum tota centuria, ex dono regis Henrici Primi, per servitium camerarii (ex libro inquisitionum loquor) in capite de domino rege. Sub Edwardo autem Tertio legi hoc teneri per serjeantiam, videlicet Lavatorium tenendo ad lavationem domini*

fore have been distinct: hence, though we cannot now define their several characters, yet it is not a sufficient ground for the rejection of one claim to feudal service that another is admitted which belongs to the same department. The foregoing remarks might be illustrated by records of other hereditary services annexed to the royal house; but as these would probably not be found to relate to the ceremony which is the object of our present inquiry, the application of them is left to the studious reader.

To the list of extinct services which is here presented, some rejected ones might have been added; but the absolute failure of their pretensions in the court of claims is deemed a sufficient reason for their omission.

The following are the manors held by coronation services, arranged under their several counties.

			Page
Bedfordsh.	Bedford	Service of Almoner	117
Dorsetshire	<i>Wynfred</i> ¹³⁹	Water-bearer	156
Essex	<i>Easton</i>	Caterer and larder	130
—	<i>Fingreth</i>	Queen's Chamb.	153
—	<i>Heydon</i>	Towel	145

regis in die coronationis.—Camden's *Britannia*, Dorset. By "*servicium camerarii*" I understand a sergeanty of chamberlainship. See also Blount's *Fragmenta*, p. 29. ¹³⁹ The services of the manors printed in Italics are extinct or not allowed.

			Page
Essex	Liston	Service of Wafers	146
Hertfordsh.	Wimondley	— Cupbearer	126
Kent	Bilsington	— Maple cups	144
Leicestersh.	<i>Kibworth</i>	— Panneter	127
Lincolnsh.	Scrivelsby	— Champion	135
Norfolk	<i>Ashill</i>	— Napier	132
—	Kenninghall	— Butler	118
—	Scolton	— Lardiner	128
Nottingh.	Worksop	— Glove	138
Suffolk	Kettilbarston	— Sceptre	153
Surrey	Addington	— Gerout	147
—	<i>Sheen</i>	— Two cups	154
Isle of Man		— Falcons	143

§ 11. *Of the Sergeants at Arms, Gentlemen Pensioners, &c.*

THE Sergeants at Arms are the most antient kind of guard waiting on the person of our kings; they commonly walk before the sovereign, and in going to his coronation they attend the several bearers of regalia. The sergeants at arms were first instituted by king Richard I. in imitation of a corps of the same name formed by Philip Augustus king of France: their duty originally was to watch round the king's

¹³⁹ " *Item a la grevous complaint de la communalte fait a nostre seigneur le roi en cest parlement del excessive et outrageous noumbre des sergantz darmes, et de plusours grantz extorsions et oppressions par eux faitz*

tent in complete armour, with a mace, bow and arrows, and a sword; and occasionally to arrest traitors and other offenders about the court, for which the mace was deemed a sufficient authority. Their number was at first twenty-four, all being persons of good birth; but in after times they were so much increased as to become a public grievance, and in the reign of Richard II. a statute was past, limiting the company to thirty¹³⁹: in later times the number has usually been much less. The sergeants at arms are still distinguisht by their maces, which are of silver gilt, and they are decorated with the silver collar of SS.

The honourable band of Gentlemen Pensioners is the immediate guard of the sovereign's person in the procession to his coronation, as well as on other occasions of state. They also bring up the dishes of the second course at the feast, and after the ceremony the honour of knighthood is generally conferred on two of their number. There are forty of the pensioners, and their officers are a captain, lieutenant, standard-bearer, &c.: their usual arms are pole-axes.

The Yeomen of the Guard march at the close of the procession, and are armed with partizans or hal-

au poeple le roy voel qils soient trestoutz deschargez et qe de eux et de autres soient reprises bones et sufficeantes persones tunqal noumbre de trent sanz plus desore enavant," &c.—Stat. an. 13 Rich. II. cap. vi.

berts; their well-known dress has been preserved from the time of their first establishment in the reign of Henry VII. The officers of the guard are the captain, lieutenant, ensign, clerk of the cheque, and four exempts or exons; the yeomen are one hundred in number.



BOOK IV.

CEREMONIAL OF AN ENGLISH CORONATION.

§ 1. *Of the Proclamation and Summons.*

THE present division of our subject will comprise a Ceremonial drawn from the practice of the later reigns, with such remarks as may serve to point out the most important deviations from antient usage.

When a day is appointed for the coronation it is usual for the king designate to name commissioners for holding the Court of Claims, and to issue a Proclamation giving notice to such as are bound to service by their offices or tenures to appear and perform their respective functions. The proclamation is pub-

light in the usual form by the heralds at arms, at the accustomed places in London and Westminster.— Letters of Summons are then sent to the peers in the following form, adapted to the several ranks.

G. R.

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed the day of next for the solemnity of our royal coronation; these are therefore to will and command you, all excuses set apart, that you make your personal attendance on us, at the time above mentioned, furnisht and appointed as to your rank and quality appertaineth, there to do and perform such services as shall be required and belong unto you. And whereas we have also resolved that the coronation of our royal consort the queen shall be solemnized on the same day; we do further hereby require the countess your wife to make her personal attendance on our said royal consort, at the time and in the manner aforesaid: whereof you and she are not to fail. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at the day of &c.¹

To such noble persons as are not able to attend the

¹ See the Additional Notes and Appendix.

² Sir George Buck, in his valuable history of Richard III. remarks that it was "the auntyent manner and custome that the prince whoe was next to succede the kinge deceased, should goe to the Tower of London, the castle royall and cheefe howse of safetie in this kinge-

ceremony letters of dispensation are granted, when a sufficient cause of absence is made known.

In former times, when the Tower of London was the occasional residence of the kings of England, it was usual for the prince on his accession to the throne to assemble there the great nobles, officers of state, and members of his court², and from thence to go through the city to the Palace of Westminster, in a procession which occupied the day preceding that of the coronation. But before the king's departure a ceremony was performed which deserves particular notice;—the creation of KNIGHTS of the BATH. "This act of royal grace," saith Mr Anstie, "hath been usually displayed upon the coronation and marriage of our kings, the coronation of both queens regents and queens consorts, the birth and marriage of the royal issue and their first advancement to honours, upon the designed expeditions of our kings against their foreign enemies, upon installations into the most noble order of the Garter, and when some grand anniversary festivals were celebrated³." The antient knights of the Bath were not an incorporated brotherhood, but, like those other kinds or classes of knighthood, the bannerets and bachelors (or knights

dome," and stay there "untill all things of royall apparall and pompe necessarye and proper to his consecration and coronation were fitly in redines."—New Edit. p. 21. ³ *Observations introductory to an Historical Essay upon the Knighthood of the Bath*, 4to, p. 66.

of the sword) derived their title from the manner of their creation. This, it appears, chiefly consisted in the noviciate's being conducted to a chamber where a bath was prepared in which he bathed: he then resumed his clothes, with a hermit's weed of russet cloth, and, going to the church or chapel of the palace, kept his vigil till almost day-break, when he retired to rest. In the morning, habited in proud and costly robes, he came forth and took horse in the court of the palace, and coming to the hall, received the spurs and sword, and was dubbed knight by the hand of his sovereign⁴.

Such were the ceremonies "to that solempne and highe knightthod apperteynyng," which were used at the coronations of our antient kings: but from the reign of Charles II. these, together with the procession through the city of London, have been entirely discontinued. Before this time, then, the great festival of which we treat may be said to have begun on the evening when the vigils of the bath were performed. On the following day, the creation of the knights was succeeded by a royal feast, at the Tower, after which every thing was put in order for the magnificent progress of the king and his court through the midst of the capital. Upon this occasion

⁴ For a more full account of these ceremonies see Segar's *Honor, Military and Civil*, lib. ii. cap. 11, Camden's *Britannia*, Carter's *Analysis of Honor and Armory*, &c. also, Leigh's *Accidence*, p. 38.

the streets were cleaned, and the houses decorated with tapestry and arras; bands of music were stationed at convenient intervals; and four grand triumphal arches were erected, peopled with gods and genii who saluted the sovereign with appropriate speeches or songs. The aldermen of the city were placed in Cheapside, and the companies ranged along the streets, all in their proper habits. With respect to the procession itself, it will suffice to say that it consisted of the usual attendants of royalty, and of the judges, peers, great officers of state, and princes of the blood. The king rode, bare-headed⁵, under a canopy borne by four knights, who were to be "chaunged at divers and many places, as well for that the king maye be well servid of many noble persons, to their great honor, as for their ease that beare it."—The queen came after, and, like the king, uncovered; she was carried on a sumptuous litter, with cushions of white damask, her ladies following in chariots: all the rest were on horseback, or walking; and in this manner they proceeded through the city by Temple Bar, to the old palace of Westminster, where the king and his royal consort were used to lodge that night.

⁵ The following circumstance is recorded of Henry IV. in his progress from the Tower: "*Rex ipse solempniter equitavit in gowna de preciosissimo panno aureo, discooperto capite, quamvis tempus esset ex nebula pluviosum.*"—*Chron. Rishang. MS. Cott. Faust. B ix.*

§ 2. *Of the assembling of the Peers, and bringing of the Regalia.*

WE need not inquire whether the king now sleeps at the palace of Westminster on the eve of the coronation, as his predecessors were used to do; he is, however, first publicly seen there in the morning of the day on which the ceremony is performed, at the meeting of the peers in the house of Lords, before their coming down into the great hall. Before this takes place his majesty is attended by the lord great chamberlain of England, who delivers to him the shirt prepared for the unction, and an under dress of crimson satin. He is afterwards habited in the parliament robes of crimson velvet, with the cap of estate. The queen also is appareled in her robes of purple velvet and cap of estate.

At the hour appointed for their assembling, the peers arrive at Westminster, and take their robes and coronets in the house of Lords: the peeresses coming in their chairs to the great north door of the palace, pass up the hall, and assemble in the Painted Chamber, all being ready drest and robed, and with their coronets in their hands. The archbishops and bishops assemble about the same time, and vest themselves in their rochets, in the house of Lords and chambers adjacent. The judges, and others of the long robe, together with the gentlemen of the privy

chamber, esquires of the body, sergeants at law, masters in chancery, aldermen of London, chaplains having dignities, and six clerks in chancery, being all in their proper habits, assemble in the court of Requests⁶, where the officers of arms arrange them according to their respective classes, four in a rank, placing the youngest on the left, and then conduct them into the great hall, in the following manner.

The Six Clerks in Chancery.

King's Chaplains having dignities.

Aldermen of London.

Masters in Chancery.

Sergeants at Law.

The Solicitor General. The Attorney General.

The King's ancient Sergeants.

Esquires of the Body.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches.

Chief Baron of the Excheq. Chief Justice of Com. Pleas.

Master of the Rolls. Chief J. of the King's Bench.

Privy Counsellors who are not peers.

All these are arranged by the officers, on each side of the hall.—In the mean time the peers and peeresses being called over in the house of Lords and Painted Chamber, and marshalled according to their

⁶ The court of Requests, which has hitherto been the place of assembly for the above classes, is the present house of Lords, and was formerly called the white hall, where the high steward's court was held. See p. 108, and the Additional Note on p. 169.

respective classes, four a-breast, the youngest always on the left hand, the officers of arms draw them out in order into the court of Requests, from whence they are conducted into the hall in this order.

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Baronesses, four a-breast.

Barons, four a-breast.

Bishops, four a-breast.

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Viscountesses, four a-breast.

Viscounts, four a-breast.

Two Heralds.

Countesses, four a-breast.

Earls, four a-breast.

Two Heralds.

Marchionesses, four a-breast.

Marquisses, four a-breast.

Two Heralds.

Duchesses, four a-breast.

Dukes, four a-breast.

Norroy King at Arms.

Clarenceux King at Arms.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord President of the Council.

Lord High Treasurer.

Archbishop of York.

Lord High Chancellor.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Sergeants at Arms.

Gentleman Usher.

Garret King at Arms.

Lord High Steward with his white staff.

THE KING.

Train Bearers, six eldest sons of peers,

Master of the Robes.

Captain of the Horse in waiting.

Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber.

Two Grooms of the Bedchamber.

As soon as the baronesses are come into the hall, they are conducted, by the officers of arms who precede them, down the middle of the hall, towards the lower end, where they divide to the right and left; the barons, bishops, and other classes of nobility being successively arranged above them according to their rank. For the reception of the king the royal seat or "KING'S BENCH"⁷ at the upper end of the hall is splendidly fitted up, and another seat of state with a lower canopy is prepared for the queen: before these is a table covered with a rich carpet. When his majesty enters⁷, he ascends the steps attended by the great officers of state and the two archbishops, with Garter and the usher of the black rod, and places himself in this chair. At the same time the queen, attended by her chamberlain and ladies, comes from the court of Wards, and repairs to the seat appointed for her, standing before it till the king is seated.

Their majesties being placed in the chairs of state, the master of the jewel house brings up the four swords which are to be used in the ceremony, namely, the sword of state, *Curtana*, and two others, and delivers

⁷ See the Additional Notes.

them to the high constable; the great chamberlain then takes them and lays them before the king. In the same manner are delivered the golden spurs.

During this time the dean and prebendaries of Westminster have assembled in their church, and now, being vested in surplices and rich copes, set forth with the other insignia of royalty, which were antiently kept in the abbey, and bring them to the palace in the following procession.

Sergeant of the Vestry, with his gilt virge.

Children of the Choir of Westminster, two a-breast.

Children of the Chapel Royal, two a-breast.

Choir of Westminster, two a-breast.

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, two a-breast.

Confessor and Sub-Dean.

Pursuivants at Arms, two a-breast.

Heralds at Arms, two a-breast.

Norroy King at Arms. Clarenceux King at Arms.

Then follow the king's regalia, borne by the dean and prebendaries, viz.

The Dean, carrying St. Edward's Crown, on a cushion of cloth of gold.

The Orb with the Cross.

The Sceptre with the Dove.

The Sceptre with the Cross.

St. Edward's Staff.

Then the queen's regalia, borne by prebendaries:

The Crown, on a cushion of cloth of gold.

The Sceptre with the Cross.

The Ivory Rod.

after which,

The Bible.

The Chalice.

The Paten.

The rest of the Prebendaries of Westminster in order,
seniors first.

In their progress up the hall they make three obeisances; and the dean and prebendaries (having past through the officers of arms and choirs) ascend the steps, being preceded by Garter, and come to the table, where they make their last obeisance. Then the dean presents the crown to the lord high constable, who delivers it to the great chamberlain, by whom it is laid on the table before the king. The king's other regalia are also delivered, by the prebendaries that brought them, to the dean, and by him to the high constable, who giving them to the great chamberlain, they are by him laid upon the table. The queen's regalia are delivered in like manner, and laid on the table by themselves before the queen: which done, the choirs, prebendaries, and dean return in order to the lower end of the hall.

By the king's command Garter now calls up certain noblemen appointed by his majesty to carry the regalia; the first of whom coming up and standing before the table, the great chamberlain delivers to

him St Edward's staff, and in like manner the rest of the king's regalia to other lords; the last being the crown called St Edward's, which is delivered to the lord high steward. The queen's regalia are then given by the great chamberlain to the noblemen designed to bear them, and the bible, chalice, and patten to bishops^a. Lastly, the bishop of Durham and the bishop of Bath and Wells are summoned up to support the king, pursuant to antient usage; and two other bishops to support the queen.

§ 3. *Procession to the Abbey, and arrangements in the Church.*

PREPARATION is now made for forming the whole of the august company assembled in the hall into an exact and orderly procession. On the west side stand thirty-two barons of the cinque ports, who are to perform the service of their towns in supporting canopies over the king and queen; and as the procession advances, sixteen of them receive the queen at the

^a The honour of bearing the holy vessels of the altar belongs properly to the high chancellor and high treasurer of the kingdom, when these offices are held, as they frequently have been, by bishops. "*Cancellarius Anglie, si episcopus fuerit, pontificalibus indutus coram rege in processione calicem sancti Edwardi regalem portabit. Item, Thesaurarius Anglie, si episcopus fuerit, dalmaticâ indutus et pontificalibus, patenam dicti calicis ante regem portabit, et ante Cancellarium ibit.*"—MS. Cott. Nero, C ix. p. 167. The Bible has also in late reigns been generally brought with the regalia. It appears to have been usual in earlier

foot of the steps under her canopy; and the other sixteen receive in like manner the king. The sergeants at arms, sixteen in number, being divided into two classes, attend the king's and queen's regalia: and the gentlemen pensioners, in number forty, are ranged in two files, to give way for the procession; twenty of them, ten on a side, guard the queen, and the other twenty guard the king. The peers and peeresses are in their robes of estate and bear in their hands the coronets of their respective rank; the peers wear the collars of the orders of knighthood to which they may belong: such of them as are officers of the king's household have the wands of office in their hand. The dignitaries of the law and the church carry their square caps, and the kings at arms their coronets; the chief justices, kings at arms, and lord mayor of London, have the gilt collar of SS, and the silver collar is worn by the heralds and sergeants. For the rest it is sufficient to observe that every person in the procession is habited in the full dress of ceremony proper to the office which he holds or the

times to bear in the procession, with the regalia, certain royal vestments, &c. upon a checker table, which was carried by six noblemen; thus at the coronation of Richard II. Matthew Paris says "*Sequebantur autem sex comites et barones portantes scaccarium unum supra quod posita erant regalia insignia et vestes.*"—The same is in Hoveden and Bever's Chronicle. At that of Edward II. "*portabatur unum scaccarium magnum super quod erant vestes regales,*" &c.—MS. Cott. Vesp. C. xiv. p. 122.

rank which he enjoys. When the arrangements are complete, the procession begins to move in the following order.

The Dean's Beadle with his staff.

High Constable of Westminster with his staff.

A Fife.

Four Drums.

The Drum Major.

Eight Trumpets, four a-breast.

Kettle Drums.

Eight Trumpets, four a-breast.

The Sergeant Trumpeter, with his mace.

The Six Clerks in Chancery.

Closet Keeper of the Chapel Royal.

King's Chaplains having dignities.

Sheriffs of London.

Aldermen of London below the chair in scarlet gowns.

Recorder of London.

Aldermen of London above the chair wearing gold chains.

Masters in Chancery.

Sergeants at Law.

The Solicitor General. The Attorney General.

The King's ancient Sergeants.

Esquires of the Body.

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches.

Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

Master of the Rolls. Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Children of the Choir of Westminster.

Sergeant of the Vestry. Sergeant Porter of the Palace.

Children of the Chapel Royal in surplices and scarlet mantles.

Choir of Westminster with their music books.

Organ Blower. Groom of the Vestry.

A Sackbut. A Double Courtal. A Sackbut.

Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in scarlet mantles.

Confessor to the Household. Sub-Dean of the Chapel.

Prebendaries of Westminster in surplices and rich copes.

Dean of Westminster in a surplice, and cope of purple velvet.

Master of the Jewel House.

Bath King at Arms.

Knights of the Bath not peers, in the habit of the order, carrying their caps in their hands.

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Privy Counsellors who are not peers.

Knights of the Garter, when not peers, in the habit of the order, carrying their caps in their hands.

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Baronesses, four a-breast.

Barons, four a-breast.

Bishops in their rochets, their square caps in their hands.

Two Pursuivants at Arms.

Viscountesses, four a-breast.

Viscounts, four a-breast.

Two Heralds.

Countesses, four a-breast.

Earls, four a-breast.

Two Heralds.

Marchionesses, four a-breast.

Marquisses, four a-breast.

PROCESSION TO THE ABBEY.

Two Heralds.

Duchesses, four a-breast.

Dukes, four a-breast.

Norroy King at Arms.

Clarenceux King at Arms.

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Lord President of the Council.

Lord High Treasurer.

Archbishop of York in his rochet.

Lord Chancellor, with the seal. Abp. of Canterbury in his rochet.

Gentlemen representing the Dukes of
Aquitain. Normandy.

Two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Queen's Chamberlain.

Sergeants at Arms.

The Queen's Regalia, borne by noblemen, viz.

Rod with the Dove. The Queen's Crown. Sceptre with the Cross.

Gentlemen Pensioners.

8 Barons of the Cinque Ports.

A Bishop. THE QUEEN, A Bishop.

in her purple robes, with the cap of
state on her head, going under
a canopy.

Assistants to the Queen's Train, six ladies.

Lady bearing the Train.

Mistress of the Robes.

Ladies of the Bedchamber.

8 Barons of the Cinque Ports.

Gentlemen Pensioners.

Two Women of Her Majesty's Bedchamber.

Sergeants at Arms.

The King's Regalia, borne by noblemen, viz.

St Edward's Staff. The Golden Spurs. Sceptre with the Cross.

The third Sword.

Curtana.

The second Sword.

Usher of the Green Rod.

Usher of the White Rod.

PROCESSION TO THE ABBEY.

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Lord Mayor of London, with his mace. Lion King at Arms. Garter King at Arms. Gent. Usher of the Black Rod.

Lord Great Chamberlain.

Princes of the Blood, having their trains borne.

Sergeants at Arms.

Earl Marshal. Sword of State. High Constable of England. H. Constable of Scotland.

Sergeants at Arms.

Rod with the Dove. St Edw^d's Crown, borne by the Lord High Steward. Orb with the Cross. Coronet of the High Steward.

The Paten. The Bible. The Chalice.
(borne by three Bishops.)

Gentlemen Pensioners. 8 Barons of the Cinque Ports.	Bishop of B. and W.	THE KING, in his robes of crimson velvet, with the cap of state on his head; under a canopy. Train Bearers, six eldest sons of peers. Master of the Robes. Lords of the Bedchamber.	Bishop of Durham.	8 Barons of the Cinque Ports. Gentlemen Pensioners.
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Stand ^d Bearer of the Gent. Pensioners.	Captain of the Guard.	Capt. of the Horse in waiting.	Capt. of the Gentlemen Pensioners.	Lieut. of the Gentlemen Pensioners.
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Gentlemen of the King's Bedchamber.

Two Grooms of the Bedchamber.

Ensign of the Guard. Lieutenant of the Guard.

Exempts. 100 Yeomen of the Guard. Exempts.

Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard.

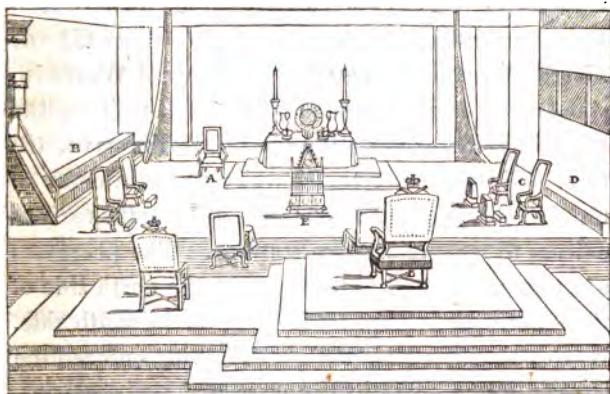
178 ARRANGEMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

In this order, with little variation⁹, it has been usual for the procession to move from Westminster hall through the new palace-yard to the west door of the collegiate church; the persons who compose it walking on a raised platform covered with blue cloth, which also extends from the steps in the hall and to the foot of the steps in the choir; the passage being railed in on both sides, and protected by horse and foot guards. During its progress the drums beat a march, the trumpets sound, and an anthem is sung by the choirs.

The arrangements within the church for placing those who are engaged in the ceremony may be briefly described as follows. In the upper part of the chancel, between the choir and the high altar, and under the tower, is a large platform called the Theatre¹⁰; in the midst of this are placed the royal thrones, the king's being elevated by five steps ascending all round, that of the queen being two steps lower. On the south and north sides of the theatre are benches for the peers and peeresses, and against the four great

⁹ It has not been thought necessary to point out the slight differences of arrangement which may be found on a comparison of the more recent processional, nor to dwell upon the greater diversity existing in those of an earlier date: of the latter, Hoveden's account of the coronation of Richard I. may be a sufficient example; the former may be examined in Ashmole's Narrative of the coronation of Charles II. and Sandford's History of that of James II. The processions of Richard III. and Edward VI. may also be consulted in Grafton's Chronicle, and Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 327.

pillars which support the tower are seats for the officers of arms. On the eastern side of the theatre, in front of the thrones, are chairs for the king and queen, in which they sit on first coming into the church. Between these and the altar is placed the old chair of king Edward (markt E in the annex engraving);



on the south side, at c, are the chairs and faldstools which are used by their majesties during the sermon and litany, behind which, at d, is a long bench for the great officers of state and the dukes of Normandy and

¹⁰ In our old Latin ceremonials this is called *pulpitum*; in that of Charles V. of France, *solium in modum eschafaudi*; and in a later French book it is said, "*au pulpitre ou jube de l'église audessous du crucifix est dressé et posé le throne du roi*:" in the Roman Pontifical it is termed *thalamus sive suggestum*; and in the ceremonials of the Greek empire, *anabathra*, which is defined to be "*ascensus, seu tabulatum, seu pulpitum*." All the above are spoken of as temporary erections.

Aquitain. Opposite, on the north side, at B, are the bishops, and at the side of the altar the chair of the archbishop of Canterbury, markt A. The pulpit is against the north east pillar.

As the procession enters the choir, the law officers and judges ascend the theatre, and dividing to the right and left go to seats appointed for them in galleries on either side, standing before them till the king and queen are seated. The choir of Westminster, with the prebendaries and dean, wait on the left hand side of the middle aisle, in the nave, till their majesties enter the church: the gentlemen of the chapel repairing to their galleries, and the various officers to their respective stations. The peeresses are then conducted to the seats on the north side of the theatre, and the peers to those on the south side. By this time the king and queen having entered the church are received by the dean and prebendaries, with the choir, who proceeding a little before their majesties, sing a full anthem, commonly from Psalm cxxii. ver. 1. "I was glad when they said unto me," &c. Then the prebendaries entering the choir ascend the theatre, and pass over it to their station on the south side of the altar, beyond the king's chair. After which the dean of Westminster, the great officers, and two archbishops, with the dukes of Aquitain and Normandy, ascend the theatre, and stand near the south-east pillar. The queen, preceded by her vice-

chamberlain, two gentlemen ushers, and chamberlain, and by the lords who bear her majesty's regalia (having left her canopy at the entrance into the choir), now ascends the theatre, leaving the gentlemen pensioners below in the choir, and the sergeants at arms at the rail on the west side of the theatre, and passes on the north side of her throne to the chair below, and stands by it till his majesty comes. Then the king, preceded by the officers of state and his regalia, having also left the barons of the cinque ports who bore his canopy, the gentlemen pensioners, and the sergeants at arms, at the places mentioned above, ascends the theatre, and passing by the south side of his throne to the chair of state set for him on the east side of the theatre, near the foot of his throne, makes an adoration, and kneels down at his faldstool in private devotion; the queen doing the like. The king then seats himself in his chair of state, when the queen also sits down: the lord chancellor, the lord great chamberlain, the lord high constable, and earl marshal, with the two bishops who support his majesty, the dean of Westminster, and the lords who carry the regalia, with Garter and the gentleman usher, all standing about him; the queen's officers, and those who bear her regalia, with the two supporting bishops, and the ladies who bear her majesty's train, all standing likewise about the queen.

§ 4. *Of the King's Coronation.*

THEIR majesties being thus seated, and all the nobility and others duly placed, the two provincial kings at arms, with the heralds and pursuivants, repair to their stations at the four corner pillars of the theatre, and the important business of the day commences with the RECOGNITION¹¹, which is thus performed: the archbishop of Canterbury standing near the king on the east side of the theatre, his majesty rises from his chair and stands before it, whilst the archbishop, having his face to the east, says as follows:

SIRS,—I here present unto you king ——, the rightful inheritor of the crown of this realm; wherefore all ye that are come this day to do your homage, service, and bounden duty, are ye willing to do the same?

From thence the archbishop, accompanied by the lord chancellor, the great chamberlain, the constable, and the earl marshal (Garter king at arms going before them), proceeds to the south side of the theatre and repeats the same words; and from thence to the west, and lastly to the north side: the king standing all the while, and turning his face to the several sides of the theatre as the archbishop is speak-

¹¹ See remarks on the Recognition in the Additional Notes: the form here given is from Sandford, our general authority in the following sections.

ing at each of them. At every repetition the people express their willingness by acclamation; and at the last the trumpets sound and drums beat. This being done, the following anthem is sung by the choirs, the king resuming his seat.

ANTHEM I. (*Firmetur manus.*)

Psalm lxxxix. ver. 14. Let thy hand be strengthened: and thy right hand be exalted. Let justice and judgement be the preparation of thy seat: let mercy and truth go before thy face. Allelujah.

The archbishop in the mean time going to the altar revests himself in a rich cope (as do also the bishops who bear any part in the office), and places himself at the north side of the altar. Then the king rises from his chair, being supported by the two bishops and attended, as always, by the dean of Westminster (the great officers and the noblemen who carry the regalia going before him); puts off his cap of estate, goes to the steps of the altar, and there kneels down upon the cushions. He now presents his FIRST OBLATION, consisting of a pall of cloth of gold, and an ingot or wedge of gold of a pound weight, which are delivered to him by the great chamberlain. The archbishop, assisted by the dean, receives them from his majesty, and lays them reverently on the altar: which done, the king arising makes an obeisance towards the altar, and retires to his chair on the south side of the *area* or *sacrarium*. The

queen, supported by the bishops, is then brought from her seat, her regalia being borne before her; and being come to the steps of the altar kneels down, and offers a like pall, and then retires to her chair, set for her likewise on the south side of the area, or on the king's left hand. After which, their majesties kneeling at the faldstools placed before their chairs, the archbishop says the following prayer :

(Deus humilium visitator.)

O God, which dost visit those that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy holy spirit, send down thy grace upon this thy servant ———, that by him we may feel thy presence among us, through Jesus Christ. Amen.¹²

This prayer being ended, the lords who bore his majesty's regalia draw near to the steps of the altar, and present the crown, the orb, the rod, the spurs, the sceptre, and St Edward's staff, to the archbishop, who lays them upon the altar, the lords retiring to their respective seats. The queen's crown, sceptre, and rod are then delivered in the same manner; which done, the dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, with the great officers of state, repair to their seats on the south side of the area, behind their majesties'

¹² Instead of this prayer we find in Sandford the following: "O God, who dwellest in the high and holy place, with them also who are of an humble spirit, look down graciously upon these thy servants, ——— our king, and ——— our queen, here prostrate before thee at thy footstool; and mercifully receive these oblations, &c."

chairs. Their majesties rising from their chairs, and kneeling again at their faldstools, which are now placed facing the east, the queen's on the left hand of the king's, the archbishop gives notice to two of the bishops to begin the LITANY, the choirs making the responses¹³. After which, at the end of the collect, "We humbly beseech thee, o Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities," the archbishop, being all this while at the north side of the altar, says these two prayers¹⁴:

(*Omnipotens sempiternus Deus.*)

Almighty and everlasting God, creator of all things, king of kings, and lord of lords, give ear, we beseech thee, unto our humble prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant ———, whom, in thy name, with lowly devotion, we consecrate¹⁵ our king. Grant that by thy inspiration he may govern with the mildness of Solomon, and enjoy a peaceable kingdom. Grant that he may serve thee with fear, and fight for thee with constancy. Defend him by thy mighty arm, compass him with thy protection, and enable him to overcome all his enemies. Honour him before all the kings of the earth. Let him rule over countries, and let na-

¹³ "*Infra Letaniam hæc adjungant—Ut presentem famulum tuum in tua pietate, justitia, et sanctitate confirmare et conservare digneris—Te rogamus audi nos,*" &c.—*Lib. Reg.* The Litany, in all the ceremonials before that of James II. is placed after the Sermon and Oath.

¹⁴ The former of these is not in the *Ordo* of George III.

¹⁵ The old Latin ceremonials read "*in regem ELIGIMUS,*" as do also the Roman Pontifical, and the authorized ritual of France, for which see Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part I. chap. 8.

tions bow down before him. Establish his throne with judgment and equity. Let justice flourish in his days; and grant that he, supported by the due obedience and hearty love of his people, may sit on the throne of his fathers many years; and, after this transitory life, may reign with thee in thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

(Deus qui populis.)

O God, which providest for thy people by thy power, and rulest over them in love, grant unto this thy servant — the spirit of wisdom and government, that, being devoted unto thee, he may so wisely govern his kingdom, that in his time the church may be in safety, and Christian devotion continue in peace; that so persevering to the end in good works, he may by thy mercy come unto thine everlasting kingdom, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with thee, world without end. Amen.

The COMMUNION SERVICE is now read by the archbishop, and the Epistle and Gospel by two of the bishops; after which the prelate appointed to preach the SERMON ascends the pulpit, and the king and queen seat themselves again in their chairs on the south side of the area, the archbishop sitting in his chair at the altar. His majesty now puts on his cap of estate. During sermon the two bishops who support the king stand on each side of him; the lords who carry the swords bear them erected, on his right hand; and the lord great chamberlain stands on the left,

OATH.—The sermon being ended, the king uncovers his head, and the archbishop repairs to his majesty, and asks him, Sir, are you willing to take the oath usually taken by your predecessors? The king answers, I am willing.

Then the archbishop ministers these questions, to which the king answers, as followeth :

¹⁶ *Abp.*—Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of Great Britain¹⁷, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the respective laws¹⁸ and customs of the same?

King.—I solemnly promise so to do.

Abp.—Will you, to your power, cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?

King.—I will.

Abp.—Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by law? [And will you maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government

¹⁶ The oath which is here inserted is that which was administered to his present majesty king George III. according to the last settlement of it by parliament. In the Additional Notes I shall give the oath which is in Sandford, with a sketch of its history.

¹⁷ "England," W. & M.

¹⁸ "the laws," &c. W. & M.

thereof as by law established, within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging, before the union of the two kingdoms¹⁹ ?] And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of England²⁰, and to the churches there committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them or any of them ?

King.—All this I promise to do.

He then goes to the altar, and laying his hand upon the Gospels, takes the oath following :—The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep, so help me God. He then kisses the book, and signs the oath.

THE ANOINTING.—The king now goes to his faldstool, which is placed towards the altar, and kneels thereat ; the queen in the mean time coming from her chair to her faldstool on the left hand of the king's, at which she also kneels, whilst the choirs sing the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* as prefatory to the anointing. After which the archbishop says this prayer or collect :

¹⁹ This clause was added to the oath, and the above alterations made in it, on the union of England and Scotland.

²⁰ "this realm," W. & M.

(*Te invocamus, Domine.*)

We beseech thee, o Lord, holy Father, almighty and everlasting God, for this thy servant ———, that, as at first thou didst bring him into the world by thy divine providence, and through the flower of his age hast preserved him unto this present day, so thou wouldst enrich him evermore with thy bounty, and fill him with grace and truth, and daily increase in him all goodness, in the sight of God and man; that being placed in the throne of supreme government, assisted by thy heavenly grace, and by thy mercy defended from all his enemies, he may govern the people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

After the collect, the archbishop with a loud voice says,

Abp.—The Lord be with you.

Resp.—And with thy spirit.

Abp.—Lift up your hearts!

Resp.—We lift them up to the Lord.

Abp.—Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.

Resp.—It is meet and right so to do.

Abp.—It is very meet and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks unto thee, o Lord, holy Father, almighty and everlasting God, the exalter of the humble, and the strength of thy chosen, which in the beginning, by the pouring out of the flood, didst chasten the sins of the world, and, by a dove conveying an olive branch, didst give a token of reconciliation unto the earth; and again, didst consecrate thy servant Aaron a priest by the anointing of oil; and afterwards by the effusion of

this oil didst make priests, and kings, and prophets, to govern thy people Israel; and by the voice of the prophet David didst foretel that the countenance of thy church should be made chearful with oil. We beseech thee, Almighty Father, that thou wilt vouchsafe to bless and sanctify this thy servant ———, that he may minister peace unto his people, and imitate Aaron in thy service. That he may attain the perfection of government in counsel and judgement, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

This preface being ended, the choirs sing the following anthem :

ANTHEM II. (*Unxerunt Salomonem.*)

Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon king; and all the people rejoiced, and said, God save the king, long live the king, may the king live for ever²¹.

In the mean time the king arises and goes to the altar, attended by the lord great chamberlain, who disrobes his majesty of the mantle and surcoat of

²¹ After this anthem the old rituals have the prayer *Prospice Omnipotens*, "Look down Almighty God," &c.

²² The formulary which is given above on the authority of Sandford differs in a material point from Ashmole and from all the rituals since the Conquest. In these the invocation is recited at the beginning of the ceremony, when the HANDS are anointed: thus in the *Ordo* of the time of Henry I. (*MS. Cott. Claud. A. iii.*) we find this rubric, "*Tunc demum ab ipso metropolitano unguantur sibi manus de oleo sanctificato*;" after which is the invocation, "*Unguantur manus iste de oleo sanctificato, unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophetæ*," &c. which in the later English services is rendered as follows:—"Let these hands be anointed with holy oil, as kings and prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel did anoint David to be king; that thou mayest be blessed and established a king in this kingdom, over the people whom the

crimson velvet: and king Edward's chair, with a footstool, being placed in the midst of the area before the altar, the king seats himself in it. The *ampulla* containing the consecrated oil is now brought from the altar by the dean of Westminster, who pours the oil into the spoon; and the several parts of the king's dress which are closed with ribbands being first opened by the archbishop, he proceeds to anoint the king, in form of a cross: First, on the palms of his hands, saying, Be these hands anointed with holy oil. Second, on the breast, saying, Be this breast anointed, &c. Third, on both shoulders, and between the shoulders, saying, Be these shoulders anointed, &c. Fourth, on the bowings of both his arms, saying, Be these arms anointed, &c. Lastly, on the crown of the head, saying, Be this head anointed with holy oil, as kings and prophets were anointed, and as Solomon was anointed king, &c.²²

Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern. Which he vouchsafe to grant who with the Father and the Holy Ghost reigns in glory everlasting." The same form is observed in the coronation services of France and Germany, except that the hands are anointed LAST, and the invocation then pronounced; which was probably the case in the *Ordo* of Æthelred II. defective in this part of the ceremony (see Appendix). What was the reason for this change in our ritual we know not, but the reader will doubtless observe that the scriptural allusions which are used in both forms of the invocation are applied in them to different actions; and in this view the modern reading will appear justified, since the head is the part particularly mentioned by the Jewish writers as receiving the unction—(see *Levit.* viii. 12; *1 Sam.* x. 1; *Psalms* cxxxiii. 2). It may be remembered that accord-

While the anointing is performed a pall of cloth of gold is held over the king's head by four knights of the Garter. When it is concluded, the dean lays the ampul and spoon again upon the altar; and the archbishop, placing himself on the north side thereof, pronounces the following invocation, the king kneeling at his footstool.

(*Deus, Dei filius.*)

God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who was anointed of his Father with the oil of gladness above his fellows, pour down upon thy head the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and make it enter into thy heart, so that thou mayest receive invisible grace; and, having justly governed thy temporal kingdom, thou mayest reign with him eternally, who being without sin, doth live in glory, with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

The king now rises, and sits down in the chair; and the dean of Westminster, having first dried all the places anointed, except the head and the hands, with cotton wool, closes again the places that were

ing to the Roman Pontifical the heads of kings were not to be anointed at all; an exception was however made from this general rule in the case of France and England, where such anointing was said to prevail (see Selden, *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, i.): so that the authority of the Pontifical in this respect, especially with the exception above noticed, will not be of much importance in the present inquiry. Some further remarks on the antient mode of Unction are reserved for the Additional Notes.

⁸³ The linen coif which was thus used is the *chrismale* of the ritualists, and, like the unction itself, was antiently used in baptism. "*Olim ut et hodie, baptizatorum statim atque chrismate in fronte unge-*

opened in his garments. Then a coif of lawn is delivered by the lord great chamberlain to the archbishop, and by him placed upon the king's head³³; and linen gloves are also put on his hands; in the meantime a short anthem is sung by the choirs.

The INVESTING.—The dean of Westminster now brings from the altar the *Colobium sindonis*, which he puts upon the king, standing before his chair, the archbishop saying this prayer :

(*Deus rex regum.*)

O God, the king of kings and lord of lords, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour to bless this kingly ornament, and grant that thy servant ——— our king, who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the ornament of a good life and holy actions, and after this life ended, he may for ever enjoy that life and glory which hath no end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

bantur, ne chrisma deflueret, capita panno candido obvolvebantur, qui octavo demum die ab iis auferebatur.”—Ducange, v. *Chrismale*. An early instance of its use in England occurs in the Saxon Chronicle (an. 878); Guthrum the Dane was baptized at Alre, and “*hij cniym-lýring pær æt pedomon*”: that is, his chrismal was taken off at Wedmore. It was worn for seven days after coronation as it was after baptism, and on the eighth it was taken off by the abbot of Westminster: the particular time for its removal may have been derived from the practice of the Jews, who anointed their high-priest for seven days in succession. See Dom Calmet's Dictionary, v. *Onction*; and Selden, *De Succes. in Pontif.* l. ii. c. 9. The use of the coif in our coronations is now discontinued; and it is not mentioned in the *Ordo* of George III.

The dean then brings from the altar the *Supertunica* or close Pall, with the girdle, and the Buskins and Sandals of cloth of gold, with all of which the king is successively invested²⁴. After this he brings the Spurs and delivers them to the lord great chamberlain, who, kneeling down, puts them on the king's heels. Then the archbishop takes the Sword of State, in its scabbard of purple velvet, and laying it on the altar, says the following prayer :

(*Exaudi quæsumus.*)

Hear our prayers, we beseech thee, o Lord ! and vouchsafe by thy right hand of majesty to bless and sanctify this sword, wherewith this thy servant—— desireth to be girt, that it may be a defence and protection of churches, widows, and orphans, and all thy servants, and a terror to all those that lie in wait to do mischief ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This being ended, the archbishop, assisted by other bishops, delivers the sword into the king's hand; and the lord great chamberlain²⁵ then girds his majesty with it, the archbishop saying

(*Accipe Gladium.*)

Receive this king's sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the holy church, and delivered unto thee by the

²⁴ The investiture with the *colobium*, the *supertunica*, and the buskins and sandals, is not directed by the *Ordo* of George III, and was probably omitted.

²⁵ In Scotland this was done by the high constable.

hands of the bishops, though unworthy, yet consecrated by the authority of the holy apostles; and remember of whom the psalmist did prophesy, saying, Gird thyself with thy sword upon thy thigh, o thou most mighty; and with this sword exercise thou the force of equity, and mightily destroy the growth of iniquity. Protect the holy church of God and his faithful people: defend and help widows and orphans: restore things gone to decay, and maintain those that are restored: that doing thus, thou mayest be glorious in the triumph of virtue, and excellent in the ornament of justice, and reign for ever with the Saviour of the world, whose image you bear; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth world without end²⁶.

The king then arising, the dean of Westminster takes the *Armil*²⁷ from the master of the great wardrobe, puts it about his majesty's neck, and ties it to the bowings of his arms above and below the elbows, the archbishop saying

(*Accipe Armillas.*)

Receive the armil of sincerity and wisdom, as a token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thine enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Lastly, the Mantle or open Pall is delivered to the

²⁶ In the Roman Pontifical we have the following addition to the delivery of the sword:—"Et mox rex accinctus surgit et eximit Ensem de vagina, illumque viriliter vibrat, deinde super brachium sinistrum tergit, et in vaginam reponit."—Selden, p. 161.

²⁷ See the remarks on the *Stole* in Book II. § 8.

dean, who puts it upon the king standing : his majesty then sits down, and the dean brings the orb from the altar, which is delivered into the king's right hand by the archbishop, who says

(*Accipe Pallium.*)

Receive this imperial pall and orb, and remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of God, &c.²⁸

The king being thus arraid in the sacred vestments, the archbishop, standing before the altar, takes St Edward's Crown in his hands, and laying it before him again upon the altar, says the following prayer, the king kneeling at his footstool :

(*Deus tuorum corona fidelium.*)

God the crown of the faithful, who on the heads of thy saints placest crowns of glory, bless and sanctify this crown ; that as the same is adorned with divers precious stones, so this thy servant, wearing it, may be replenisht of thy grace with the manifold gifts of all precious virtues, through the king eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.²⁹

²⁸ In Ashmole the address is as follows :—" Receive this pall, which is formed with four corners to let thee understand that the four corners of the world are subject to the power of God ; and that no man can happily reign upon earth who hath not received his authority from heaven." The omission of the orb in the form of delivery has been already noticed in our account of that ornament, at p. 71.

²⁹ This prayer is called *Benedictio Coronæ* in the early rituals ; and the *Liber Regalis* directs that after it is said the archbishop shall sprinkle the crown with holy water, and cense it, before placing it on the king's head.

Here the king sits down again in king Edward's chair³⁰, and the archbishop coming from the altar with the crown between his hands, assisted by other bishops and by the dean of Westminster, reverently puts it upon the king's head: upon which the trumpets sound, the drums beat, and the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cry God save the King! A signal is also given from the battlements of the church, at which the twenty-one great guns in St James's Park are fired, and also the ordnance of the Tower. The noise and acclamations ceasing, the archbishop goes on to say the following invocation and prayer:

(*Coronet te Deus.*)

God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude; that, by a right faith and manifold fruits of good works, thou mayest obtain the crown of an everlasting kingdom, by the gift of him whose kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

(*Deus perpetuitatis.*)

O God of eternity, the commander of all powers, the vanquisher of all enemies, bless this thy servant, who³¹ boweth

³⁰ In the Roman Pontifical and the ceremonials of France, the archbishop sits, and the king kneels before him, whilst receiving the unction and the crown: "*Archiepiscopus debet sedere sicut sedet quando consecrat episcopos.*"—Selden, p. 188. In the *Devyse* of the Coronation of Henry VII. it is directed that "the cardinall, sitting, shall anoynte the king, kneelyng:"—but when the crown is put on the king's head, he is to be "sitting in his chaire before the high aulter."—Ives's *Select Papers*.

³¹ At these words the king inclines his head.

his head unto thy majesty; preserve him in health and prosperous felicity; be present with him whensoever he calleth upon thee; give him, we beseech thee, the riches of thy grace, fill his soul with goodness, and crown him with thy mercy, and let him always in godly devotion wait upon thee, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

His grace then reads the *Confortare* :

Be strong and of a good courage, and observe the commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, and keep his ceremonies, precepts, testimonies, and judgements; and Almighty God prosper and strengthen thee whithersoever thou goest. The Lord is my ruler, therefore I shall want nothing.

When the king is thus invested with the crown, the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain put on their caps of estate, and the peers and kings at arms their coronets. After the foregoing prayers, this anthem is sung by the choirs, except another is appointed :

ANTHEM III. (*Deus in virtute.*)

Psalm xxi. ver. 1. The king shall rejoice in thy strength, o Lord; exceeding glad shall he be of thy salvation. Thou hast given him his heart's desire, and hast not denied him the request of his lips. For thou hast prevented him with the blessings of goodness, and hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head. Allelujah.

³⁸ This part of the investiture is placed before the crowning in the *Ordo* of George III. as it is also in the ceremonials of France. In Sandford it is denominated "*Investiture per Annulum et Baculum*;" but I know not on what authority. The title is evidently assumed from the

While the anthem is a-singing, the king delivers the orb to the dean of Westminster, and goes from his chair to the altar, where his sword is ungirt and offered by his majesty in the scabbard; but is immediately redeemed (by the king's commandment) for an hundred shillings, and the nobleman who redeems it draws it out and bears it naked before the king during the rest of the solemnity.

The king having returned again from the altar to his chair, the master of the jewel house delivers the Ring³² to the archbishop, by whom it is consecrated, in these words :

³² Bless, o Lord, and sanctify this ring ; that thy servant wearing it may be sealed with the ring of faith, and by the power of the highest be preserved from sin : and let all the blessings which are found in holy Scripture plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctify may be holy, and whatsoever he blesseth may be blessed. Amen.

Then the king drawing off his linen glove, the archbishop puts it on the fourth finger of his majesty's right hand, saying

(*Accipe regiae dignitatis Annulum.*)

Receive this ring of kingly dignity, and by it the seal of catholic faith ; that as this day thou art consecrated the head

anient use in the creation of bishops ; and the *baculum pastorale*, or crosier, is implied in the latter word, which is not applicable to the sceptre or rod of a king.

³³ The benediction of the ring in the *Liber Regalis* begins "*Deus caelestium terrestriumque conditor.*"

and prince of this kingdom and people, so thou mayest preserve, as the author and establisher of Christianity, the Christian faith; that being rich in faith and happy in good works, thou mayest reign with him that is king of kings; to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.³⁴

The lord of the manor of Worksop (the duke of Norfolk) then presents his majesty with a rich glove, which the king puts on his right hand, still sitting in his chair; and the archbishop taking the Sceptre, delivers it into the king's right hand, saying

(Accipe Sceptrum.)

Receive this sceptre, the sign of kingly power, the rod of kingdoms, the rod of virtue; that thou govern thyself aright, and defend the holy church and Christian people committed by God unto thy charge; punish the wicked, and protect the just, and lead them in the ways of righteousness; that from this temporal kingdom thou mayest be advanced to an eternal kingdom, by his goodness whose kingdom is everlasting. Amen.

The lord of the manor before mentioned then supports the king's right arm, or holds the sceptre, as occasion requires³⁵.

³⁴ In later ages the Bracelets appear to have been put on in this part of the ceremony. Thus at the coronation of Edward VI. "immediately after, the quier with the organs did sing *Te Deum*; and in the mean season the same was singing there was a ringe of gold sett upon the king's grace's marrying finger. Sir Anthony Ager, master of the jewell house, then brought the king's bracelettis of gold and precious stones. Divers other things were also given to his grace, as . . . the sceptre," &c.—Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 327.

The archbishop next delivers the Rod, or sceptre with the dove, into the king's left hand, saying

(*Accipe Virgam.*)

Receive the rod of virtue and equity, learn to make account of the godly, and to terrify the wicked; show the way to those that go astray, offer thy hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that our Lord Jesus Christ may open to thee the doors, who saith of himself, I am the door, by me if any man enter, he shall be safe: and let him be thy help who is the stay of David and the sceptre of the house of Israel; who openeth and no man shutteth, who bringeth the captive out of prison, where he sat in darkness and in the shadow of death: that in all things thou mayest follow him of whom the prophet David saith, Thy seat, o God, endureth for ever, the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre; thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; wherefore God even thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows; even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen,

The BENEDICTION.—The king then kneels, holding both the sceptres in his hands, and the archbishop thus blesses him³⁵:

³⁵ See p. 138 in Book III. for an account of this service. After the delivery of the Sceptre, we find in Ashmole the prayer *Omniū Domine fons bonorum*, "O Lord the fountain of all good things," &c.

³⁶ Immediately before the Benediction, there is in the *Ordo* of George III. the following rubric:—"Then shall the dean of Westminster take the holy Bible which was carried in the procession, from off the altar, and deliver it to the archbishop, who, with the rest of the bishops going along with him, shall present it to the king."

(*Benedicat tibi Dominus.*)

The Lord bless and keep thee; and as he hath made thee king over his people, so may he still prosper thee in this world, and make thee partaker of his eternal felicity in the world to come. Amen.

The Lord grant that the clergy and people gathered together for this ordinance may by his gracious assistance be continually governed by thee in all happiness; and that, humbly obeying his will and faithfully serving thee, they may enjoy peace in the present life, and with thee be made partakers of the everlasting kingdom. Amen.³⁷

After which, the king arises and goes to king Edward's chair, where he kisses the archbishops and bishops who are present. This being done, the choirs begin to sing the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, "We praise thee, o God," &c.³⁸ During the performance of which the king reposes himself in his chair of state on the east side of the theatre below the throne.

³⁷ In this clause of the Benediction I have ventured to deviate, it is hoped with some advantage, from the common English formularies.

³⁸ "*Cunctus autem cœtus clericorum tali rectori gratulans, sonantibus campanis, hymnum alta voce concinunt Te Deum laudamus.*"—*Ord. Rom.*

³⁹ The clause here markt is not found in the ceremonial of the present reign; the whole form being as follows:—

"Stand firm and hold fast from henceforth the seat and state of royal and imperial dignity, which is this day delivered unto you in the name and by the authority of almighty God, and by the hands of us the bishops and servants of God, though unworthy: And as you see us to approach nearer to God's altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously to continue to us your royal favour and protection. And the Lord God Almighty, whose ministers we are, and the stewards of his mysteries, establish your throne in righteousness, that it may stand fast for ever—

The INTHRONING and HOMAGE.—When the *Te Deum* is ended, the king, being led up by the archbishops and bishops and attended by the great officers of state, ascends the throne: being seated on the throne, the archbishop, standing before him, pronounces this exhortation:

(*Sta et retine.*)

Stand and hold fast from henceforth that place of royal dignity [whereof thou art the lawful and undoubted heir by succession from thy forefathers³⁹], being now delivered unto thee, by the authority of almighty God, by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God: and as thou seest the clergy approach nearer unto the altar, so remember that in places suitable thou give them greater honour; that the Mediator of God and man may establish thee in this kingly throne to be the mediator between the clergy and laity; that thou mayest reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the king of kings and lord of lords; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, world without end. Amen.

more, like as the sun before him, and as the faithful witness in heaven. Amen."

In the text above I have followed a ceremonial which is a profest copy of Ashmole's; but in the folio impression of his Narrative (in which this form is not given entire) the beginning of it is as follows:—"Stand and hold fast from henceforth that place whereof hitherto you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers," &c.; agreeing with that given in Prynne's *Signal Loyalty* for the coronations of James I. and Charles I. Another copy for Charles I. reads "Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been heir," &c. (as it is also quoted in Prynne's *Trial of Laud*, p. 70); both being lame translations of the old form in the *Liber Regalis*, &c. continued from the Saxon ceremonial, which may be referred to in the Appendix.

The ceremonies of the coronation being thus concluded, the newly admitted king proceeds to receive upon his throne the Homage and Fealty of his spiritual and temporal barons⁴⁰. And first the archbishop of Canterbury kneeling before his majesty, the other bishops doing the same behind and about him, takes the Oath of Fealty in the following words :

I — archbishop of Canterbury will be faithful and true, and faith and truth will bear, unto you our sovereign lord, and your heirs, kings of Great Britain: and I will do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim: to hold of you as in right of the church. So help me God.

He then arises and kisses the king's left cheek: after him the rest of the bishops present do the like, and retire. Then the first duke, for himself and the other dukes, kneels down, saying as follows :

I — duke of ——— do become your liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship: and faith and truth I will bear unto you, to live and die, against all manner of folk. So help me God.

In like manner the first marquis does homage for himself and the rest; the premier earl for the other earls, the first viscount for the viscounts, and the first

⁴⁰ The doing of homage to our kings, though it now forms a part of the coronation ceremony, was not in old times immediately connected with it, being frequently performed on the day following the coronation.

baron for the barons. After which, the dukes and the other orders of the nobility respectively reascend the throne, and taking off their coronets, touch the crown upon the king's head, and kiss his cheek.

During the performance of the homage, the treasurer of his majesty's household, attended by Garter and the usher of the black rod, throws among the people, from the south, west, and north sides of the theatre, medals of gold and silver struck for the occasion; and if there is a general pardon, it is read publicly by the lord chancellor, attended by the same officers, at the three sides of the theatre.

In the mean time the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal and of the choir of Westminster perform an anthem as a conclusion of the ceremony.

§ 5. *Of the Queen's Coronation.*

THE anthem being ended, the archbishop of Canterbury goes to the altar; and the queen arising from her chair on the south side of the area where she sat during the time the king was anointed and crowned, being supported by two bishops, goes towards the altar, attended by the ladies who bear her train, the

tion. In the time of Richard I. it was "*secundâ die post coronationem*:" in the reigns of John and Henry III. it was "*in crastino*." See M. Paris.

Some remarks on the history and present state of this ceremony will be given in the Additional Notes.

ladies of the bedchamber, &c. and kneels before it; when the archbishop, being at the north side of the altar, says the following prayer :

(Omnipotens sempiterna Deus.)

Almighty and everlasting God, the fountain of all goodness, give ear, we beseech thee, to our prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this thy servant, whom in thy name, with all humble devotion, we consecrate our queen. Defend her always with thy mighty hand, protect her on every side, that she may be able to overcome all her enemies ; and that with Sarah and Rebecca, Leah and Rachel, and all other blessed and honourable women, she may multiply and rejoice in the fruit of her womb, to the honour of the kingdom and the good government of thy church, through Christ our Lord, who vouchsafed to be born of a virgin that he might redeem the world, who liveth and reigneth with thee, in unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end.

This being done, the queen arises and goes to the faldstool, between king Edward's chair and the steps of the altar, where the groom of the stole to her majesty, and the ladies of the bedchamber, take off her circle or coronet. Then the queen kneels down, and the archbishop pours the holy oil on the crown of her head, in form of a cross, saying these words :—In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, let the anointing of this oil increase thine honour, and the grace of God's holy spirit establish thee for ever and ever. Amen.—The ladies then open her apparel

for the anointing on the breast, which the archbishop also performs, using the same words. After which, he says this prayer :

(Omnipotens sempiternus Deus.)

Almighty and everlasting God, we beseech thee of thy abundant goodness pour out the spirit of thy grace and blessing upon this thy servant queen ———; that as by the imposition of our hands she is this day crowned queen, so she may, by thy sanctification, continue always thy chosen servant, through Christ our Lord.

One of the ladies in attendance (having first dried the place anointed with fine cotton wool) then closes the queen's robes at her breast, and after puts a linen coif upon her head; which being done, the archbishop puts the Ring (which he receives from the master of the jewel house) on the fourth finger of her right hand, saying

Receive this ring, the seal of a sincere faith, that you may avoid all infection of heresy, and by the power of God compel barbarous nations, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

His grace then takes the Crown from off the altar, and reverently sets it upon the queen's head⁴¹, saying

Receive the crown of glory, honour, and joy; and God, the crown of the faithful, who by our episcopal hands, though

⁴¹ In the Greek empire the empress was crowned by the emperor her husband, who received the crown from the patriarch.

most unworthy, hath this day set a crown of pure gold upon thy head, enrich you with wisdom and virtue, that after this life you may meet the everlasting bridegroom our Lord Jesus Christ; who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

The queen being crowned, all the peeresses put on their coronets; the archbishop then puts the Sceptre into her majesty's right hand, and the Ivory Rod into her left, and says the following prayer :

(Omnium Domine fons bonorum.)

O Lord, the fountain of all good things, and the giver of all perfection, grant unto this thy servant —— our queen, that she may order aright the high dignity she hath obtained, and with good works establish the glory thou hast given her, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The queen being thus anointed and crowned, and having received all her royal ornaments, the choirs sing an anthem, commonly from Psalm xlv. ver. 1, "My heart is inditing of a good matter," &c. As soon as this is begun, the queen rises from her faldstool, and, being supported by the two bishops and

⁴² "*Ejus majestatem, ut decet, adorando,*" &c.—*Liber Regalis.* This custom, like many others, may be traced to the Greek empire:—see Cödinus and Cantacuzenus.

⁴³ The titles which are set against the anthems in this part of the service are those which marked the several solemnities of the Communion office in the antient rituals. Thus "*Exordium officii dicebatur Introitus.* 2, *Quando diaconus pulpitem conscendebat lecturus, Graduale.* 3, *Offertorium, quando populus offerebat. Quibus intervallis psalmi ini-*

attended as before, goes up to the theatre: as she approaches the king, she bows herself reverently to his majesty sitting upon his throne⁴²; and so is conducted to her own throne on the left hand of the king, where she reposes till the anthem is ended.

§ 6. *Of the Communion Service.*

THE queen's coronation being accomplished as above related, the archbishop goes to the altar to begin the office of the holy Communion; the choirs singing the following anthem:

(*INTROITUS*⁴³. *Protector noster aspice Deus.*)

Behold, O Lord our defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed. The Lord God is a light and defence: the Lord will give grace and glory, and no good thing will he withhold from them that live a godly life. O Lord God of Hosts, blessed is the man who putteth his trust in thee!

Their majesties now come down from their thrones and go towards the altar to receive the communion, the king being supported by the bishops of Durham

no, mox psalmorum versiculi, cantabantur."—Arndius, *Lex. Antiq. Eccles.* p. 173. These titles we find applied commonly to the anthem itself; thus—"Introitus, antiphona quæ a choro canitur dum pontifex procedit ad altare."—Du Cange, *Gloss. v. Introitus*. See also Du Cange and Spelman, *Gloss. v. Introitus, Gradale, Offerenda*; and Du Cange, *v. Postcommunio*. They are for the most part here assigned to the respective passages of Scripture on the authority of old writers and rituals. (See particularly Walsingham in Rich. II.)

and Bath, and the four swords being borne before him. During their progress this anthem is sung :

(GRADUALE. *Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea.*)

Let my prayer come up unto thy presence as the incense, and the lifting up of my hands be as an evening sacrifice.

On the king's approaching the altar he receives from one of the bishops bread and wine, which he offers⁴⁴, and the queen in like manner; they then go to the faldstools on the south side of the altar, and laying aside their crowns and sceptres, kneel while the following prayer is said by the archbishop :

(SECRETA. *Munera quæsumus.*)

Bless, o Lord, we beseech thee, these thy gifts, and sanctify them unto this holy use; that by them we may be made partakers of the body and blood of thy only begotten Son, Jesus Christ. And grant that thy servant ———, our dread sovereign, may be fed thereof unto everlasting life of soul and body, and enabled thereby to discharge the duty of his high place and office, whereunto thou hast called him of thy great goodness. Grant this, o Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

SECOND OBLATION.—The lord great chamberlain now delivers unto the king another wedge called the mark of gold⁴⁵, weighing eight ounces, which

⁴⁴ Here should be sung the OFFERTORIUM—"Intende orationi meæ, Rex meus," &c. See Walsingh. in Rich. II. Immediately before this, and after the *Credo*, the king used to kiss the Gospel.

⁴⁵ But "*plus potest offerre Deo et Sancto Petro si placeat.*"—Wal-

is received by the archbishop into the bason and reverently laid upon the altar. Whereupon, the king still kneeling at his faldstool, the archbishop says the following benediction and prayer :

(Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore.)

Almighty God give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fat of the earth, and abundance of corn and wine. Let the nations serve thee and the tribes worship thee, and let him be blessed that blesseth thee ; and God shall be thy helper.

Almighty God bless thee with the blessing of heaven above, in the mountains and hills, and with the blessings of the earth beneath ; with the blessings of corn, and wine, and fruit ; and let the blessings of the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, be established upon thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Bless, o Lord, the virtuous carriage of this king, and accept the work of his hands ; replenish his realm with the blessings of heaven, of the dew of the water, and of the deeps. Let the influence of the sun and moon drop down fatness upon the high mountains, and the clouds rain plenty on the valleys, that the earth may abound with all things. Let the blessings of him that appeared in the bush descend upon his head, and the fulness of his blessings fall on his children and posterity. Let his feet be dipped in oil, and his horn exalted as the horn of an unicorn^a ; with which he may scatter his

singh, in Rich. II. There are some ingenious remarks on the offering of gold in *Archæologia*, vol. v. p. 300.

^a A learned dissertation on the Horn as an emblem of power may be found in Paschalius, *Coronarum Lib. X.* p. 674, (4to, 1610.)

enemies from off the face of the earth. The Lord that sitteth in heaven be his defender, for ever and ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The COMMUNICATING.—The archbishop now reads the Communion office, with the Confession and Absolution; and proceeds to consecrate the elements of the eucharist; which being done, he receives them first himself, and next, the dean of Westminster and bishops of Durham and Bath: after which the king communicates, kneeling at his faldstool, a towel being held before his majesty by two of the assisting bishops. The queen then communicates in like manner. At this time an anthem is sung by the choir.

(Postcommunio. Intellige clamorem.)

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King and my God! My voice shalt thou hear in the morning, O Lord; in the morning will I direct my prayer unto thee. For thou Lord wilt bless the righteous; with favour wilt thou compass him, as with a shield.

In the mean while the king returns to the throne with the crown on his head, which he presently puts off again while the Communion office is concluded. This being done, the archbishop says the concluding prayers and pronounces the final benediction.

(Præsta, quæsumus.)

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation; that among all the

changes and chances of this mortal life they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready help, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Lord our God, who upholdest and governest all things in heaven and in earth, receive our humble prayers, with our thanksgivings, for our sovereign lord ——— set over us by thy grace and providence to be our king, and so together with him bless his royal consort and the whole royal family. Endue them with thy holy spirit, enrich them with thy heavenly grace, prosper them with all happiness, and bring them to thine everlasting kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

And grant, o Lord, we beseech thee, that the course of this world may be so ordered, by thy gracious providence, that thy servants putting their trust in thee may in all their actions evermore glorify thy holy name, and by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The peace of God, &c. Amen.

§ 7. *Of the Procession to Saint Edward's Shrine, and of their Majesties' returning to Westminster Hall.*

THE ceremonies of the coronation being thus performed, the king arises, having the crown on his head and the sceptres in his hands, and comes down from the theatre, attended by the officers of state and the lords who carry the four swords, to the high altar; where St Edward's staff, the spurs, and the orb, are delivered again to the other lords who brought them

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in the procession. The king then passes through the door on the south side of the altar⁴⁷ into the chapel of St Edward, and coming before the altar at the head of the Confessor's shrine, the *regalia* borne in procession are delivered to the dean of Westminster, who lays them reverently upon it⁴⁸.

The queen also, descending from the theatre at the same time with the king, passes by the high altar, through the door on the north side, into St Edward's chapel, wearing her crown and carrying her sceptre and rod, and repairs also to the altar in the same chapel. Then the king delivers the two sceptres and his crown to the archbishop, who offers them upon the altar; as he also does those of the queen, which she delivers to him.

This done, the king withdraws into his traverse at the west end of the said chapel, where he is disarraid, by the lord great chamberlain, of the sacred vestments⁴⁹; and these also are delivered to the dean of Westminster, who lays them upon the altar. In the mean time, the queen retires to a traverse on the left hand of the king's, and reposes there till his ma-

⁴⁷ See the engraved plan in p. 179.

⁴⁸ I cannot here concele a regret that the tomb of the antient king and confessor, the last of the native line of our princes, which hath been visited with so much external pomp at the inauguration of each successor to his throne, should at other times receive so little of that kind of attention which is necessary to preserve its despoiled and mutilated fabric from neglect and ruin. If the local feeling of regard which

jesty is re-vested. The king is then arraid, by the great chamberlain, in his royal robes of purple velvet furred with ermine; and the king and queen coming before St Edward's altar, the archbishop puts two crowns of state upon their majesties' heads, which they continue to wear for the rest of the day. He also puts into the king's right hand the sceptre with the cross, and the orb into his left; the sceptre into the queen's right hand, and into her left the ivory rod with the dove: which being done, the archbishop and bishops divest themselves of their copes, proceeding in their rockets, or usual habit.

Whilst the king and queen are in St Edward's chapel, the officers of arms call in order such persons as are to return to Westminster hall, and conduct them out of the choir into the body of the church. Then the queen, having her crown on her head and the sceptre and ivory rod in her hands, and being supported and attended, and her train borne, as before, proceeds from St Edward's chapel over the theatre, by the north side of her throne, and so through the

is commonly shown to the memory of a Founder is here not powerful enough to procure this attention, the more general and public one of respect to royalty and birth at least should obtain it.

The reader will find a short account of the antient state of the shrine in Keep's *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, p. 134.

* I find the words "*exuens pontificalia sua*" used on a like occasion in the Empire.

choir, in the same manner as she came to the church (except that the lords who bore her regalia thither repair to their places in the procession), and is again received under her canopy by the barons of the cinque-ports without the door of the choir.

The king likewise,—having the four swords and the sceptre with the dove borne before him, with his crown on his head, and in his hands the sceptre with the cross and the orb, the lord of the manor of Worksop⁵⁰ supporting his right arm,—procedes out of St Edward's chapel, and passes over the theatre by the south side of his throne, through the choir, to his canopy at the door: the lords who in the former procession carried any of the regalia which are now left in St Edward's chapel (as the spurs and staff), or which his majesty now bears himself (as the orb and sceptre with the cross), going in their respective places in the procession, according to their several degrees.

Thus this most glorious and splendid assembly proceeds down the body of the church, through the great west door, and so returns to Westminster hall by the same way through which it came; the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine wearing their caps of estate, the peers and peeresses their coronets, the bishops their caps, and the kings of arms their coronets: the

⁵⁰ See p. 138.

order of procession being, with the exceptions already noticed, the same as that which has been before exhibited.

§ 8. *Of the Royal Feast in Westminster Hall.*

WHILE the office of the coronation is performing in the church, preparation is made in the great hall of the palace for a sumptuous royal feast, with which their majesties entertain the nobility and the public officers who have attended the ceremony. The table at which their majesties are to dine is covered by the sergeant and gentlemen of the ewry: and the officers of the pantry set the king's salt of state and cadinet on the table, with another cadinet for the queen.

Besides the royal table, which is at the upper end of the hall on the raised floor, there are usually tables along each side of the hall. The first on the west side is for the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain, the great officers, the dukes, duchesses, marquisses, and marchionesses; the second of the same side for earls and viscounts, and their ladies; the third for the barons and baronesses. The first table on the east side of the hall is for the archbishops, bishops, barons of the cinque-ports, judges, the king's antient sergeant, attorney and solicitor general; the second for the sergeants at law, masters in chancery, six clerks, lord mayor, aldermen, and twelve citizens of London;

and the third for the kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants.

When the procession arrives at the hall, the noble and illustrious persons who compose it are conducted by officers of arms to their respective tables, and the king and queen pass up the hall and retire to the court of Wards, leaving the canopies which have been borne over them with the barons of the cinque-ports, who retain them as their fee⁵¹. The heralds then retire to places appointed for them, and the king's trumpeters and musicians are stationed in a gallery at the lower end of the hall.

Dinner being ready, his majesty, with his crown on his head and the sceptre and orb in his hands, preceded by the lord great chamberlain, and the swords being borne before him, comes out of the court of Wards, and seats himself in his chair of state at the table. Immediately after, the queen, with her crown on her head, and the sceptre and ivory rod in her hands,—preceded by her chamberlain and followed by the ladies of the bedchamber,—comes through the court of Wards, and seats herself in her chair of state at the table, on the left hand of the king.

The FIRST COURSE of hot meat is then served up to their majesties' table in the manner following :—

⁵¹ See p. 139.

⁵² See p. 124.

The lords the sewers go to the dresser of the kitchen, and the sergeant of the silver scullery calls for a dish of meat, wipes the bottom of the dish, and also the cover, takes assay of it, and covers it⁸³; and then it is conveyed to their majesties' table in the following order, the trumpets sounding from the gallery.

Two Clerks Comptrollers, in velvet gowns trimmed with gold lace, with black velvet caps in their hands.

Two Clerks of the Green Cloth.

Master of the Household.

Cofferer.

Six Sergeants at Arms, with their maces.

Three great officers, in their robes of estate and their coronets on their heads, mounted on goodly horses; viz.

Earl Marshal, with Lord High Steward, High Constable,
his staff. with his white staff. with his staff.

Six Sergeants at Arms, with their maces.

Comptroller of His Majesty's Household. Treasurer of His Majesty's Household.

Assistant to the Queen's Sewer. Her Majesty's Sewer.

Assistant to the King's Sewer. His Majesty's Sewer.

The dishes of hot meat brought up by the Gentlemen Pensioners, two and two⁸³; followed by the mess of pottage or gruel called *dillegrout*, which is brought to the table by the lord of the manor of Addington in Surrey.

Two Clerks of the Kitchen in black satin gowns, with velvet caps in their hands.

⁸³ So it is in Sandford; who adds, "this service should have been performed by the knights of the Bath, had any been created at this coro-

Dinner being placed on the table by the king's and queen's carvers and sewers⁵⁴, with their assistants, the lord great chamberlain and his majesty's cupbearer and his assistants go to the king's cupboard; and having washed, the lord great chamberlain, preceded by the usher of the black rod, attended by the cupbearer, and followed by his assistants before mentioned, brings up the great bason and ewer for his majesty to wash: whereupon the king rises, and having delivered the sceptre to the lord of the manor of Worksop and the orb to one of the bishops, the cupbearer pours out the water upon the king's hands; and the lord of the manor of Heydon in Essex⁵⁵ (having accompanied the cupbearer from the cupboard) holds the towel to the king. The like ceremony is used with regard to her majesty's washing; after which, the dean of the chapel royal says grace, and their majesties sit down to dinner, as do likewise the peers, peeresses, and others at the tables below.

On the king's right hand stand the noblemen who carry the four swords, holding them naked and erected all dinner-time; nearer the king stand the lords who hold the orb and sceptre, and on his left hand

nation."—See also Anstis, *Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath*; but here the service of these knights appears to belong only to the feast at the Tower before the coronation.

⁵⁴ This was antiently superintended by the *dapifer* or grand sewer; to whom those of the household were assistant. (See our account of

the lord great chamberlain. On the queen's left hand stand her chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, who bear her sceptre and ivory rod.

The lord of the manor of Addington⁵⁶ now presents to his majesty the mess called *dillegrout*, which he had brought in with the first course, in obedience to the tenure of his manor. After which, the lord of the manor of Wimondley, chief cupbearer⁵⁷, being attended by the king's cupbearer and his assistants, goes to the cupboard, and brings his majesty the first cup of drink in a silver bowl gilt, which he presents to the king on his knee; and his majesty having drunk thereof, returns the cup to him, which he receives for his fee.

The CHALLENGE.—Before the second course is brought in, the king's champion, who holds that office with the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire⁵⁸, enters the hall, completely armed

“ _____ in guise

Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,”

mounted upon a goodly horse richly caparisoned, and attended as follows :

this office at p. 124.) The carvers have properly no concern in bringing dishes to the table, but assist in their arrangement as this is connected with their function.

⁵⁵ See p. 145.

⁵⁶ See p. 147.

⁵⁷ See p. 126.

⁵⁸ See p. 135.

Two Trumpets, the Champion's arms on their banners²⁰.

The Sergeant Trumpeter, with his mace.

Two Sergeants at Arms, with their maces.

The Champion's two Esquires, richly habited, one on the right hand, with his lance carried upright; the other on the left, with his target, the Champion's arms depicted thereon.

A Herald with a paper in his hand, containing the words of the Challenge.

The Earl Marshal in his robes and coronet, on horse- back, with the staff in his hand.	The Champion on horseback, with a gantlet in his right hand.	The Lord High Constable in his robes and coronet, on horseback, with his staff.
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Four Pages richly apparelled, attendants on the Champion.

The passage to their majesties' table being cleared by the knight marshal, the herald with a loud voice proclaims the champion's challenge at the lower end of the hall, in the words following:

If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our sovereign lord ———, king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. son and next heir to our sovereign lord ———, the last king deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this realm of Great Britain, or that he ought not to enjoy the same; here is his Champion, who saith that he lieth, and is a false traitor, being ready in person to combat with him; and in this quarrel will adventure his life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed²⁰.

²⁰ Sab. 2 Hons passant arg. crowned or. The antient arms of the lords Marmion were Sab. an arming sword, the point in chief, arg.

The champion then throws down his gantlet; which having lain some small time, the herald takes up, and delivers it again to him. They then advance in the same order to the middle of the hall, where the herald makes proclamation as before; and lastly, to the foot of the steps, when the said herald and those who precede him going to the top of the steps, proclamation is made a third time; at the end whereof the champion casts down his gantlet, which being taken up and redelivered to him by the herald, he makes a low obeisance to his majesty, whereupon the king's cupbearer brings to the king a gilt bowl of wine with a cover; and his majesty drinks to the champion, and sends him the bowl by the cupbearer; which the champion (having put on his gantlet) receives, and retiring a little, drinks thereof; he then makes his humble reverence to his majesty, and, accompanied as before, departs out of the hall, taking the bowl and cover as his fee.

The LARGESS.—Immediately after this, the officers of arms descending from their gallery, Garter, and the two provincial kings of arms, with their co-

* The words of the challenge in the reign of Henry IV. as reported by Fabian, are as follows:—he “caused an herowde to make proclamation, that what man wolde say that kynge Henry was not ryghtfull enbertyour of the crowne of Englande and rightfully crowned, he was there redy to wage with hym batayle.” Grafton, under Richard III. has it “that whosoever wolde saye that kynge Richard was not lawfully kynge he wolde fighte with hym at the utteraunce.”

ronets on their heads, followed by the heralds and pursuivants, come to the lower end of the hall, and making their obeisance to his majesty, procede to the middle of the hall, where they make a second obeisance, and a third at the foot of the steps; and having ascended, Garter cries out three times *Largess*⁶¹ :—his majesty's largess is then given, which Garter proclaims aloud as follows :

*Serenissimi, potentissimi, et excellentissimi monarchæ
———, Dei gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ regis,
fidei defensoris, Largess.*

*Du tres-haut, tres-puissant, et tres-excellent monarque
———, par la grâce de Dieu, roy de la Grande Bretagne
et de l'Irlande, défenseur de la foy, Largess.*

Of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent monarch ———, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, *Largess.*

After each of these proclamations they all make their obeisance, and descending, go backwards to the middle and lower end of the hall, crying *Largess*

⁶¹ The custom of giving a largess to the officers of arms is not peculiar to the time of a coronation, being observed also at the feast of an investiture of the Garter at Windsor, where the donation is made by the new knights as well as the sovereign. It was formerly usual at banquets of state. See Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 234, or Dallaway's *Inquiries*, p. 148. The form of crying largess will be somewhat illustrated hereafter in the coronation of Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII.: but the most perfect commentary upon our text will probably be found in the humbler festivities of a harvest home.

The following notice of the amount of a royal largess at coronations

thrice in each place, with the king's style in Latin, French, and English, as before. And lastly, coming to the lower end of the hall in the same order, they again cry the *Largess* in like manner; they then repair to their table, and sit down to dinner.

The SECOND COURSE is now carried up to their majesties' table by the gentlemen pensioners, with the same solemnities as the former. Then the lord of the manor of Nether Bilsington in Kent⁶¹ presents to his majesty three maple cups, by reason of the tenure of the said manor: after which, the king's cupbearer brings up the mayor of Oxford⁶² as assistant (with other burgesses of that city) in the office of botelry, who presents to the king, on his knee, a gilt cup of wine covered; and his majesty bestows on him the maple cups which he had just before received.

Lastly, the lord of the manor of Liston in Essex⁶³ brings up a charger of wafers to their majesties' table; and the lord mayor of London⁶⁴, being accompanied by the king's cupbearer, comes from the cupboard (where he attends with twelve of the citizens to assist the chief butler of England), and presents to the

is said to be from a roll of the time of Richard II.:—"Quant le roy est coroné—de auncient accustomex aux roys de armes et heroldes appertient notable et plentereuse largesse, come de c. l." &c.—Thynne's Discourse; see Dallaway's *Inquiry*, p. 142, 147.

⁶¹ See p. 144.

⁶² See p. 141.

⁶³ See p. 146.

⁶⁴ See p. 140.

king (when their majesties are eating the wafers) a bowl of wine in a gold cup; and his majesty having drunk thereof, returns the cup to the lord mayor as his fee.

Their majesties having dined, rise from the table, and water being brought as before dinner, they wash : grace being then said by the clerk of the closet, they take again the regalia which have been held near them all dinner-time, and, attended as before, they withdraw into the court of Wards, where the crowns, orb, and sceptres are delivered to the dean of Westminster and the master of the jewel house.

It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that the several ceremonies of the day whose history is now concluded must derive a great portion of their effect from the multitudes of spectators which fill with life and joy the places allotted to their performance. They are also followed in the evening by fireworks, illuminations, and other public festivities in honour of the new-crowned king.



BOOK V.

A CHRONICLE OF ENGLISH CORONATIONS.

IN the former part of this work I endeavoured to trace the origin of the ceremonies which are used in the inauguration of kings: it now remains to give such an account of their history in the practice of our own country, as may be gathered from the writings of our historians.

The preaching of Christianity, which led to the introduction of these sacred and impressive rites, and established them in the room of ruder and less curious forms, occurred at a time when the art of recording events had made so little progress amongst us, that the precise date of their adoption may rather be

guest than decidedly ascertained. No direct account hath been preserved of the introduction of the ceremony of anointing, as it was probably at first brought in by the clergy without any remarkable change of national customs; and the establishment of crowning can only be inferred from the use of the former rite.

There is no reason to suppose of Æthelbert our first converted king, or of any of the earliest Christian princes of the Heptarchy, that they received the regal unction: it is not recorded to have been used for nearly two hundred years after the coming of our apostle St Augustine, but was probably first employed in the latter part of the eighth century.

In the year 785, the Saxon Chronicle informs us, EGFERTH was "hallowed to king" by his father Offa, king of Mercia¹. The mode in which that invaluable history generally notices a new accession is by stating that such an one was chosen king, or that he "feng to rice," *regnum accepit*; and in no instance that I have observed, before the one above recited, does it allude to any form of conferring the regal dig-

¹ "From Offan cýninge bigebryht þær gecopen (that is, appointed bishop of Dorchester). ⁊ Ecgveð to cýninge gehalgod." Florence of Worcester notices the event in these words: "*Higebrihtus ab Offa rege Merciorum in episcopatum est electus; et Egferthus, ejusdem regis natus, rex est consecratus.*"—Fl. Wig. sub an. 785.

² It is somewhat remarkable that Strutt, forgetting his reference to the Saxon Chronicle, says that "the exact time of his coronation is

nity. Of the same Offa William of Malmsbury saith, "*dulci vitam consumpsit otio, et Egfertum filium ante mortem suam in regem inunctum successorem dimisit.*" This is noted by Mr Selden; but he doubts whether the historian may not "deceive us herein by using the phrase of a later time." With respect to Malmsbury indeed this might have been the case; but of the Chronicle it will hardly be suspected, especially as it is not an accession to the throne which is mentioned, for Egferth "feng to rice" in the year 794, nine years after this hallowing was performed. Either the history therefore is untrue, or a consecration is the fact recorded².

Having stated that the consecration of prince Egferth is the first which appears in history, I proceed to show that with this event the ceremony was probably first introduced among the nations of our island. It appears that legates had been sent into England by pope Adrian I. to renew the religious impressions which had been formerly made by St Augustine³, and that a great council was held by them and the English bishops, attended by the Mercian king, at Chalchythe or Calcuth (Cholsey in Berk-

not recorded, but it certainly was towards the latter end, if not the last year, of Offa's reign."—*Chronicle*, vol. 1. p. 176.

² "To-nipianne þone geleagan 7 þa ribbe þe Scy. Gregonius us rende þurh þone byscop Augustinum." &c.—*Chron. Sax.* "*Ad fidem quam Augustinus episcopus prædicaverat, renovandam et confirmandam.*" —Matth. Paris, *Vita Offarum*, p. 25. M. West. *Fl. Hist.* sub anno 789.

shire?) at which legatine synod the rite of consecration was performed⁴. It hath been remarkt that there is no reason to suppose that the hallowing of kings was establisht on the first conversion of our nation: may we not, however, conclude that the ordinance was introduced with this second mission from the papal see?—and the rather, since an occasion for its use is apparently *created* at the time, by taking as the subject of it a prince not come to the throne⁵. That the rite of consecration would have originated among us nearly about this time is also probable from a comparison of the dates of its introduction in the Empire and in France, as stated in the former pages of this work⁶.

In the year 795 the Chronicle gives us a more perfect account of the ceremonies used at the inauguration of EARDWULF king of Northumberland. He is

⁴ "In illo quoque concilio [Chalcuthē] Offa [rex] Merciorum potentissimus in regem fecit solemniter coronari filium suum primogenitum Egfridum."—M. Paris, p. 26. M. Westm. *ut supra*.

⁵ Among the *capitula* delivered by the legates at the synod, is one "*De ordinatione et honore regum*." This does not contain any precept for the consecration of kings; but as it repeatedly speaks of them as the *Lord's anointed*, and proposes to the people their possessing this character as the reason why they are to be protected and honoured ("*in necem regis nemo communicare audeat, quia christus Domini est*," &c.), we may perhaps infer that the legates would establish, if they were not already known, the rites by which the sacred character was conferred. See Spelman's *Concilia*, tom. i. p. 296.

⁶ Book I. § 5.

said to have been consecrated, and placed upon his throne, by Eanbalde, archbishop, and Æthelberhte, Higbalde, and Badewulfe, bishops⁷.

The invasions of the Danes, which at this time became so frequent, may perhaps account for the omission of ceremonials in the contemporary historians of England⁸: the next coronation which claims our notice is recorded by the writers of France, where it was celebrated. Æthelwulf king of the West-Saxons, returning from Rome in the year 856, received in marriage JUDITH, daughter of Charles the Bald king of France, who was at the same time crowned and anointed as his queen by Hincmar archbishop of Rheims⁹. These ceremonies, as applied to the royal consort, were probably unknown at that time to the court of Wessex; and the performance of them has been thought to have increased the displeasure which arose on the marriage¹⁰. She was also placed on the

⁷ "And Eardpulf feng to Nopðan-hymbþan cineþome on II. iday Mai. ⁊ he pæg fýððan gebletƿod. ⁊ to hƿ cine-ƿtole ahoƿen. on VII. kal. Iunil on Eorepƿic fƿam Eanbalde aƿceb. ⁊ Æþelberhte. ⁊ Drg-balde. ⁊ Badepulfe biƿcopum."—*Chron. Sax.* an. 795.

⁸ The story of a coronation of king Egbert at Winchester in 816 hath been so often repeated, that some notice of it may perhaps be expected: I shall only however refer the reader to Mr Turner's *History*, vol. i. p. 188, where its probability is ably investigated.

⁹ The coronation service used on this occasion is yet preserved, and will be found in Dacheane's *Historia Francorum Scriptores*, p. 423.

¹⁰ See Carte's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 295.

royal seat, by the king's side, and received the title of queen; honours which had been withheld from the wives of the West-Saxon kings on account of the demerits of Eadburga, wife of king Brichtic¹¹.

In the same year occurred the coronation of St EDMUND king of the East-Angles: the accounts of which are important to our subject, as they prove that the anointing with holy oil is implied by what is termed the consecration of kings in our early writers.—Asser relates that Edmund began his reign on Christmass day 855, being the fourteenth year of his age¹², and that he was consecrated on the Christmass day following¹³: by the chronology of Spelman¹⁴, however, no distinction of time is made between the ac-

¹¹ See further on this subject in the Additional Notes.

¹² *Annales*, 8c. ed. 1722, p. 7.

¹³ "*Anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCCLVI.—Humbertus Orientalium Anglorum antistes unxit oleo consecravitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosissimum cum gaudio magno et honore maximo in villâ regiâ quæ dicitur Burua, in quâ tunc temporis regalis sedes erat: anno ætatis suæ decimo quinto, sexta feria, luna vicesima quarta, die natalis Domini.*"—Asserii *Annales*, p. 14.

¹⁴ In the Appendix to the Latin Life of Ælfred, and in the edition of Asser quoted above.

¹⁵ "855, indict. iii. S. Eadmundus East-Anglorum rex unctus est 8 kal. Jan. an. ætatis suæ 14, à Nunbercho episcopo." It is placed under the same year by Florence of Worcester and Matthew of Westminster.

¹⁶ It is well observed in Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, that Bures was the place of St Edmund's coronation, and not Bury, as the chronicle under Brompton's name supposes; nor Burne in Lincolnshire, as Mr Camden asserts. This appears from a *ms.* of

cession and coronation, which latter event he gives to the Christmass day of 855¹⁵. The ceremony was performed at Bures¹⁶, a village near Sudbury in Suffolk, which at that time belonged to the crown and was a place of royal residence: the prelate who assisted was Humbert bishop of Elmham, the former seat of the Norwich bishopric.

The next coronation we have to investigate is that of ÆLFRED the Great, king of the West-Saxons, who has been considered by many as our first anointed king. "He began to reign," says Mr Selden, "in 872 of our Saviour; but his anointing is cast into the time of his father king Ethelulph, who, they say, sent Alared, being a child of five years old, to Rome about

Galfridus de Fontibus, who wrote before the year 1156. His words are these: "*Facta autem in illum acclamatione attollentes læti Suffolchiam deduxerunt, et à villa Burum ad regni fastigia promoverunt, assistente Huniberto venerabili antistite, Eadmundum in regem unguente et consecrante. Est autem Burum villa coronæ antiquitus regiæ, certus times Essexiæ et Suffolciæ, sita super Sturiam, fluvium æstate et hyeme rapidissimum.*"—See also Batteley's *Antiquitates S. Edm. Burgi*, p. 14.

The following account of St Edmund's reception in his kingdom is from a Life of him quoted in p. 119 of Dr Batteley's work above cited.

"*Intrantes autem Angliam [Angli sc.] apud Hunstanton applicuerunt, et deduxerunt eum ad civitatem antiquam quæ dicebatur Attelburg; ubi per annum integrum deguit, psalmis et orationibus diligenter vacans: in quo spatio psalterium, quod in Saxonica ceperat, perdidit. Post annum vero finitum ductus est ad Suffolchiam, et in villa de Bures, ab Humberto Elmamensi episcopo, die natali Domini in regem Estangliæ coronatur, æt. xv. A.D. DCCCLVI.*" A fragment of the Life of St Ethelbert, in the same work (p. 118), confirms the date of Asser.

the year 854, where pope Leo IV. anointed him for king.—But it is too hard, as it seems, to understand why, Ethelulph having three elder sons, Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, who were all elder than Alured, he alone should be anointed, and at those years and in his father's life-time, for a king." "For my part," he continues, "if there be room here for conjecture, I rather think that as the unction used in baptism of king Chlovis was among the French made also by tradition to be an anointing him for king, so here the use of chrisme in confirmation (for it appears that at the same time pope Leo confirmed king Alured) was afterward by mistaking accounted for regal unction¹⁷." Sir John Spelman supports the opinion that Ælfred was really anointed king at Rome¹⁸; and Mr Turner conjectures that his father intended to prefer him before his elder brothers¹⁹. The former supposition is certainly favoured by the Saxon Chronicle and by other authorities²⁰; but in their accounts we perhaps have only the after application of a ceremony of which the intention was unknown to the

¹⁷ *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8, 1.

¹⁸ *Life of Ælfred*, 8vo, p. 21.

¹⁹ *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 185.

²⁰ Asser, Florence of Worcester, Ethelwerd, Malmesbury, &c.

²¹ Malmesbury says indeed "*unctionem regiam et coronam à papa suscepit*:" but he differs in this from the earlier authorities. Besides, he might literally receive a crown, in a different sense, as a gift, which appears likely from the account in Robert of Gloucester, quoted at p. 94 of this work.

writers. However the *unction* might be used, it does not appear from any sufficient evidence that the act of *coronation* was performed by the pope²¹: indeed, viewing it in the light in which it has been placed in the beginning of this volume, such a coronation could have no effect in conferring the sovereignty of a Saxon kingdom. The real inauguration of king Ælfred was performed at Winchester, the capital of Wessex²², on his accession to the crown, but no particulars of the ceremony have been preserved.

Ælfred was succeeded on the throne of Wessex by his son EDWARD the Elder, who being elected by the nobles²³ was crowned on Whitsunday in the year 901²⁴; archbishop Plegmund being at that time primate.

ÆTHELSTAN, the eldest son of Edward, was consecrated at Kingston-on-Thames, by Athelm archbishop of Canterbury, in 924²⁵. It is said that "his co-

²² Speed's *Historie of Great Britain*, p. 329. Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, pp. 20, 45.

²³ "*Coronatur ipse stemmate regali, à primatis electus, Pentecostes in die.*"—Ethelwerd.

²⁴ At Kingston, according to Stow, Speed, and Strutt. Peter Langtoft, however, writes thus:

"After þis Alfride kom Edward þe olde,
Faire mar he was and wis, stalworth and bolde,
At London, at Saynt Poule's toke he þe croune."—p. 26.

Camden does not name Edward among the kings crowned at Kingston.

²⁵ "And Æðbertan præg of Wýncum gecopen to cinge. 7 æt Cinger-

ronation was celebrated in the market place upon a stage erected on high, that the king might be seen the better of the multitude²⁶."

EDMUND I. who was the second surviving son of king Edward, received the crown, as our chroniclers agree²⁷, at Kingston, in the year 940.

EDRED his younger brother followed in the throne. He was crowned at Kingston, by Odo archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 946²⁸.

EDWY the son of Edmund was crowned by Odo at the same place as his predecessors, in the year 955²⁹. The coronation of this young prince is rendered memorable by its being the occasion of an extraordinary outrage on the person of the sovereign. Edwy had retired from the coronation feast to the society of his wife; when the company, displeased at his absence

tune gehalgod."—*Chron. Sax. sub an. 925.* Hence it appears that he was king of Mercia as well as of Wessex: his victories over the Danes made him afterwards the sovereign of all England.

²⁶ Stow, an. 924. The following is the account of Florence of Worcester:—"Æthelstanus verò in Kingestune, id est, in villa regia, in regem elevatur, et honorificè ab Athelmo Dorobernensi archiepiscopo consecratur."—*Fl. Wig. sub an. 924. p. 347.*

²⁷ Speed, Baker.

²⁸ Florence of Worcester, *sub an. 946.* Langtoft says,

"Edred after Edmund had þe croune

Upon þe Pask day at London tounne."

²⁹ Florence of Worcester.

and incited to complaint by their metropolitan, deputed Dunstan abbot of Glastonbury and Cynesius bishop of Lichfield to recall the king to his place at the table. The manner in which the commission was executed, and the indignities which were heaped upon the king and his unfortunate Elgiva, are not further related to our subject, and are perhaps too well known to need repetition³⁰.

EDGAR, who already possessed the throne of Mercia, succeeded his brother Edwy in the year 959³¹. It is said³² that this prince, then in the sixteenth year of his age, was crowned at Kingston on his first accession: but for this fact we are not possest of authority: we find, however, that in the year 973, the fourteenth of his reign and thirtieth of his age, he was again crowned at Bath, on Whitsunday, by St Dunstan, then archbishop of Canterbury³³. The event was

³⁰ For an account of this matter see Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, book vi. ch. 9. I cannot but suspect, from the contradictory statements which are given concerning it, that the facts related by writers of both parties are greatly exaggerated.

³¹ "*Rex Mercensium Eadgarus ab omni Anglorum populo electus.*"—Flor. Wig., Sim. Dunelm.

³² Speed, from Polydore Virgil.

³³ "*Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus, ætatis suæ anno 30, indict. prima, quinto idus Maii, die Pentecostes, a beatis præsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et a cæteris iotius Angliæ antistibus, in civitate Acamanni benedicitur, et cum maximo honore et gloria consecratur et in regem ungitur.*" Fl. Wig. sub an. 973. Malmsbury says indeed that no former coronation had taken place: "*quòd à xvii. ætatis suæ anno, quo rex constitutus est usque ad xxx. sine regio insigni regnaverat.*"

commemorated in the following poem, which is preserved in the Saxon Chronicle²⁴.

Ðer Eadgar wæs.
 Engla waldend.
 cōpðne micelpne
 to cýnre gehalgod
 on þære ealdan býrnre
 Acemannes-ceastrre.
 ac he buend
 oðre worðe beornar
 Baðon nemnað :
 þær wæs blýð micel
 on þam eadegan dæge
 eallum geforðen
 þone nra bearn
 nemnað 7 cýgað
 Pentecostenes dæg.
 þær wæs preostas heap
 micel muneca þreat
 mine gefræge
 gleaþra gegadrod :
 And þa azangen wæs
 tyn hund wintra
 getæled nimes

Here Edgar was
 (of Angles wielder!)
 with mickle pomp
 to king yhallowed
 in the old borough
 Acheman's-chester,
 but those that dwell there
 in other word
 Bath name it.
 There was bliss mickle
 on that happy day
 caused to all
 which sons of men
 name and call
 Pentecost-day.
 There was of priests a heap,
 of monks much crowd,
 I understand,
 of wise ones gathered.
 And then was gone
 ten hundred winters
 told of rime (number)

²⁴ The original is here metrically divided, and is accompanied with a modernized copy, which the obscurity of the poetical language seemed to require.

²⁵ "*Dum hæc aguntur, de rege eligendo magna inter regni proceres oborta est dissensio: quidam namque regis filium Eadwardum, quidam vero*

fram gebýrd-tíde	from the birth-tide
bremes cýninges	of the illustrious king,
leohta-hýrdes.	the Lord of Light,
buton þær to-læfe	but that there left
þa get pær	then yet was
winter getæles	of winter-tale,
þær þe gewritu secgað	as writings say,
seofon ⁊ twenti.	seven and twenty ;
sƿa neah pær	so nigh then was
sigora sƿean	of the Lord of Glory
þusend aurnen	a thousand run
þa þa þis gelamp :	when this befell.
⁊ him Eadmundes	And Edmund's son
eafora hæfde	had nine and twenty
nigon ⁊ twenti.	(brave man of deeds !)
nroƿeora hearo.	winters in world
wintra on ƿorolde	when this took place :
þa þis geporden pær.	and in the thirtieth
⁊ þa on þam þritigeðan	was hallowed king.
pær þeoden gehalgod :	

EDWARD, the eldest son of Edgar, was admitted to ascend his father's throne after some dissension amongst the nobles²⁵. He was crowned and anointed by Dunstan at Kingston in the year 975.

fratrem illius elegerunt Æthelredum. Quam ob causam archipræsules Dunstanus et Oswaldus cum corepiscopis, abbatibus, ducibusque quamprimum in unum convenerunt, et Eadwardum, ut pater ejus præceperat, elegerunt; electum consecraverunt, et in regem unxerunt."—Fl. Wig. sub an. 975, and Malmsbury.

ÆTHELRED II., king Edgar's younger son, was crowned at the same place on Easter-Sunday, 978³⁶: but one of our riming historians³⁷ tells us that

“ ————— þys god man Seyn Dunston

Hatede mucho to crouny hym, ȝyf he yt myȝte vergon.”

To this coronation is referred an antient ritual which has been often quoted in the present work.

EDMUND II. called Ironside was crowned at Kings-ton by Livingus, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1016: but Canute or Cnut, the son of Sweyn, king of the invading Danes, obtained the government of the northern counties after a contest for the sole dominion³⁸.

On the death of Edmund in the following year, CANUTE, now without a rival, was received as their king by the whole nation, and was crowned by Livingus at London³⁹.

³⁶ “Wid mycclum ȝeƿean Angel-cýnney ƿiton ȝehalgod to cýnunge æt Cýnunge-tun.”—*Chron. Sax.* “*Die Dominica, 18 cal. Maii post Paschalem festivitatem à sanctis archipræsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et decem episcopis, in Kyngestune ad regni fastigium est consecratus.*”—*Fl. Wig. sub an. 978.*

³⁷ Robert of Gloucester, p. 290.

³⁸ Canute was indeed elected by a part of the nobles, but “ealle þa ƿitan þe on Lundene ƿæron. ⁊ ȝe buh-ƿara. ȝecuron Eadmund to cýnȝc.”—*Chron. Sax.* 1016. “*Successit in regnum, Londinensium et Westsaxonum electione, Edmundus.*”—Ingulph. See also Florence of Worcester.

HAROLD I., the successor of his father Canute, was elected in a witena-gemote holden at Oxford⁴⁰, where he is also said to have assumed the crown; though Elnoth the archbishop withheld his benediction, and placing the regal insignia upon the altar, refused formally to deliver them, contending that they belonged with better right to the sons of the late king Æthelred. This was in the year 1036.

CANUTE II., or Hardacnut, succeeded to the crown in 1039⁴¹; but the place and manner of his receiving it have not been recorded.

EDWARD the Confessor (whose name is so closely connected with the history of our regalia and of English coronations) was himself crowned at Winchester on Easter-day in the year 1042. The ceremony was performed by Eadsius archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by nearly all the prelacy of England; and we

³⁹ "1017. Dep. Cnut weapð gecorpan to cinge."—*Chron. Saxon.*
 "Omnium consensus Canutus super totam Angliam coronatus."—Ingulph.

⁴⁰ "And yona æfter þær ealra witeana gemot on Oxna-forða. ⁊ Leofric eopl ⁊ mærc ealle þa þegenas be non þan Temere. ⁊ þa liðymen on Lundon gecorpon Dapold to healþes ealles Engle-landes him."—*Chron. Sax.* 1036. The popular character of the electing body is here apparent in the presence of the lightermen or ship owners of London. "*Haraldus rex Merciorum et Northankimbrorum ut per totam regnaret Angliam à principibus et omni populo rex eligitur.*"—*Fl. Wig.* sub an. 1037.

⁴¹ "*Electus in regem simul ab Anglis et Dacis.*"—*Hen. Hunt.*

learn that the king received a suitable exhortation, before all the people, from the venerable primate⁴².

HAROLD II., the son of earl Godwin and a descendant of Sweyn, was raised to the throne on the death of Edward⁴³, and was crowned by Aldred, archbishop of York⁴⁴, on Friday, January 5, 1066. His right was however soon disputed by William duke of Normandy, and the fatal battle of Hastings deprived him of his crown and life.

WILLIAM I. was consecrated at Westminster abbey on Christmass day, 1066, by Aldred archbishop of York; Stigand of Canterbury being suspended

⁴² "ðer wæs Eðward gehalgod to kinge on Þinceartne on Eðter-dæg mid mýccum þurð-ryce.—Eadryge arceb' hine halgode. ⁊ to-foðam eallum folce hine pell læpde. ⁊ to hyr azenre neode. ⁊ ealles folces pell monode."—*Chron. Sax. sub an. 1042.* "*Edwardus à proceribus Angliæ in regem electus, prima die solemnisi Paschæ ab Edsio Doreborniæ archiepiscopo apud Wyntoniam sacratus est et coronatus.*"—*Hist. Rames., XV. Script. p. 450.*

⁴³ "*A totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus, die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo in regem est honorificè consecratus.*"—*Flor. Wig. sub an. 1066. Hist. Eliens. p. 515.* I have not found the place of the coronation mentioned by any of our historians except Brompton, who says "*Haraldus, ut quidam tradunt, seipsum apud Westminsterium coronavit.*" According to Snorro it was at St Paul's church in London; but as he makes the Confessor to have been buried there also, we may doubt his testimony. His words are as follows:—"1066, 5 Jan.—Þann yama dæg þar þar höfðingia-rycna, þar þá nætt um konungs-tekio, —lauk ypa þeirri rycno, at þarallðr þar til konungs tekinn, oc þigðr konungs-þigro inn xiii dæg i Páls-kirkio."—*Heims Kringla, p. 153. Johnstone's Antig. Celto-Scand. p. 192.*

from his rank in the church⁴⁵. His coronation, a noble writer observes, was "not without the appearance and form of an election or free acknowledgement of his claim; for the archbishop of York and the bishop of Constance, who officiated in the ceremony, separately demanded of the nobility, prelates, and people of both nations who were present, whether they consented that he should reign over them; and with joyful acclamations they answered that they did⁴⁶." So loud indeed were these acclamations, that the Norman soldiery who were outside the church set fire to the building, supposing that a rebellious tumult was raised against their leader. Many of the people, we are told, fled from the church; but the

⁴⁴ Mr Turner, however, thinks differently: "Though most of the writers say that the archbishop of York crowned him, yet as the tapestry (of Bayeux) shows Harold on his throne, and Stigant, who held Canterbury, near him; and as Guil. Pictaviensis and Ordericus Vitalis state that Stigant crowned him, I adopt this opinion, which M. Lan- celot supports."—*History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 8vo, p. 353.

⁴⁵ Stigand "refused, as some sayde, to crowne K. William, for that by bloud and crueltie hee had obtained the kingdome; but other affirme that William would not take the crowne at his hands, because hee was chalenged of pope Alexander not to have received the pall canonically."—Stow. See Malmsbury, Brompton, and Ingulph; and Eadmer, cited at p. 98 of this work.

⁴⁶ Lord Lyttelton's *History of Henry II.* William of Poitiers says they were askt "*an consentirent eum sibi dominum coronari*;" Ord. Vitalis, "*an concederent Guillerum regnare super se*." Brompton says that William requested to be crowned that he might thus become a LEGITIMATE PRINCE. "*Cum nomen tyranni exhorresceret, et nomen legitimi principis induere vellet, petiit consecrari*." So also Gul. Neu- brigensis, cap. 1.

ceremony was completed, and the usual coronation oath of the English kings was administered⁴⁷.

Matilda the queen of William I. was crowned on Whitsunday 1068, by the same archbishop of York.

WILLIAM II., the Conqueror's second son, was admitted to succede him after a long consultation of the nobles⁴⁸. His coronation took place at Westminster on the 26th of September, *A.D.* 1087, seventeen days after his father's death:

" To William þe rede kyng
Is gyven þe coroun
At Westmynstere tok he ryng
In þe abbay of Londoun⁴⁹."

The sacred office was performed by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury.

HENRY I. was crowned at Westminster on the 5th of August in the year 1100⁵⁰, being the fourth day

⁴⁷ Turner's *History of England*, 4to, p. 86. See also the *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, p. xii. and Wilkins, *Leges A.-Sax.* p. 213.

⁴⁸ "*Optimates frequentes ad Westmonasterium in concilium convenere, ubi loci post longam consultationem Gulielmum Rufum regem fecere.*"—Matth. West. *Fl. Hist.*

⁴⁹ Peter Langtoft, p. 85.

⁵⁰ "Þa pítan þe þa neh hanða þæron hý bpoðen ðeanpíc to cýnge gecupan."—*Chron. Sax.* "*Post mortem regis Gulielmi Rufi electus est Henricus frater ejus, et consecratus est rex Anglorum apud Westmonasterium.*"—M. West. "*Sepultus est (W. Rufus) apud Wincester et Henricus frater ejus junior ibidem in regem electus—pergensque Londoniam, sacratus est ibi à Mauricio Londoniensi episcopo.*"—Huntingd.

after his brother's death, by Maurice bishop of London, the archbishop of Canterbury being out of the kingdom. He was chosen on condition of restoring the laws of St Edward and the old liberties of the kingdom, which he confirmed by a charter immediately after his consecration⁵¹.

The first queen of Henry I. was Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling, of the right English line⁵²: she was crowned at Westminster, by archbishop Anselm, on the feast of St Martin, in the same year as her consort⁵³. He afterwards married Alice, daughter of the duke of Lovain, who was crowned, according to Speed, on Sunday, January 30, 1121.

STEPHEN, younger brother of the earl of Blois and a grandson of the Conqueror, was elected king on the death of his uncle Henry I.⁵⁴ He was crowned on St Stephen's day, 1135, by William archbishop of Canterbury: through some mistake the benediction, or, according to some writers, the kiss of peace, was

⁵¹ See Matthew Paris. The charter begins as follows:—"Sciatis me Dei misericordia et communi consilio baronum regni Angliæ regem esse coronatum." The ceremonial of this coronation is preserved in *MS. Cott. Claud. A. iii.* and *Tiberius B. viii.*

⁵² "Of þan rihtan Ængla-landes kýne-kýnne."—*Chron. Saxon.* p. 208.

⁵³ Eadmer, Gervase, Hoveden.

⁵⁴ "*Prædictus Stephanus à cunctis fere in regem electus.*"—Gervas. Dorob. f. 1340. "*Ego Stephanus, Dei gratia, assensu cleri et populi in regem Anglorum electus, et à Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, &c. consecratus.*"—*Cart. in Ric. Hagulst.* 314.

forgotten in the performance of the sacrament⁵⁵. His queen was crowned March 22, 1136.

HENRY II. grandson of Henry I. succeeded on the death of Stephen: he was crowned at the usual place by the primate Theobald, on the Sunday before Christmass day, December 19, 1154⁵⁶. His queen appears to have been crowned at Worcester, on Christmass day, 1158⁵⁷.

In the year 1170 this king adopted a measure not common in England, though frequent in some other states, the admission of his eldest son prince Henry to the dignity of a titular kingship. The prince was crowned on the 15th of June, at Westminster, by the archbishop of York and other bishops; their primate Becket being then in exile. This violation of the rights of the see of Canterbury was visited on the officiating prelates by their suspension from the episcopal function, and contributed to the subsequent misfortunes of the king: Even at the coronation feast

⁵⁵ "In cuius coronatione, ut dicitur, pax Domini ad Missam nec dicta fuit nec data populo, cum hoc sacramentum factum est."—Hoveden. "In cuius consecrationis celebritate omissum est dari osculum pacis."—Johan. Hagulst. 258. See also the *Chronicon Mannie*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ "ƿe eoƿl . . . ƿƿ ƿuðerƿanƿen mib micel ƿurȝcipe. ȝ to king bletcæð in Lundene on ƿe runnen dæi beƿopen mibƿurȝen dæi."—*Chron. Sax.* "Die Dominica ante nativitatem Domini apud Westmonasterium ab omnibus electus, et in regem unctus est a Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi."—Rad. de Diceto. See Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. c. 1.

⁵⁷ Easter 1159, Hoveden: it is also said that Henry was crowned with

the arrogant spirit of the young prince appeared in his answer to those who complimented him when his royal father served at his table;—he said, “it was no such great condescension for the son of an earl to wait on the son of a king⁶⁰!” Another source of trouble to the sovereign was the offence taken by the king of France because his daughter the wife of prince Henry had not been consecrated with him. To remedy this, they were both crowned at Winchester, in 1172, by the archbishop of Rouen, the see of Canterbury being at that time vacant⁶¹.

RICHARD I. attained the throne by the solemn election of the clergy and laity⁶¹; and

“ In a moneth mirie,
Septembre þe gynnyng,
Bandwyn of Canturbirie
Com to coroune þe kyng⁶²: ”

which he did at Westminster, on Sunday the 3d⁶³ of September, 1189, in the presence of the archbishops

her, “this being now the third time in which, at three severall places, he had been crowned.”—Speed. It is most likely, however, that this assertion is grounded on the custom of bearing the crown at festivals.

⁶⁰ Lord Lyttelton's *History of Henry II.* vol. ii. p. 550.

⁶¹ Matth. Paris. Gervas. Dorob. *sub an.* 1172. *Ann. Waverl.* See also Lyttelton, vol. iii. p. 102.

⁶² “*Comes Pictavorum Richardus, hæreditario jure præmovendus in regem, post tam cleri quam populi solennem et debitam electionem involutus est triplici sacramento, &c.*”—Rad. de Diceto.

⁶³ Peter Langtoft.

⁶⁴ Gervase of Canterbury says the 2d.

of Rouen, Triers, and Dublin, as well as of the English bishops and abbots. This coronation is the first of which any large account is given by our old historians, and therefore the relations of Hoveden and Matthew Paris deserve the notice of the inquiring reader⁶⁴. The order of the ceremonies as described by them is nearly the same as that of many following reigns; and we trace in it the existence of the feudal services, which are alluded to as being of customary observance: the royal feast also is noticed for its profusion and splendour⁶⁵. The festivity was, however, disgracefully terminated by a massacre of the Jews. This people had been strictly forbidden to appear in the places appropriated to the ceremony⁶⁶: but some of them being found trying to pass into the hall, they were driven out with force and blows, which being seen by the multitude and reported in the city, their houses were attackt and many of them killed⁶⁷.

In the year 1194 Richard was set free from his imprisonment in Germany; and on his coming home it is commonly said that he was crowned again at Win-

⁶⁴ See also Bever's Chron. *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.* p. 130.

⁶⁵ "*Baccho per pavementum et parietes palatii discurrente.*"—M. Paris.

⁶⁶ The reason of this prohibition, as we learn from Matthew Paris, was "*propter magicas artes, quæ solent in regum coronationibus exerceri, de quibus Judæi et aliquæ mulieres sunt infames.*"

⁶⁷ Hemingford, in *XV. Script.* vol. ii. p. 514. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv. cap. i. M. Paris, p. 154.

⁶⁸ Holinshed.

⁶⁹ See Gervase of Canterbury (*X. Script.* p. 1587) and Hoveden,

chester, "to put awaie, as it were, the reproofe of his captivitie⁶⁸." I do not however find reason to call the ceremony there performed a coronation, unless literally, from the imposition of the crown by the archbishop; certainly none, to make it a *consecration*. From our best writers the ceremony at Winchester appears to have been an offering and thanksgiving, with a revival of the courtly formalities usual at the time of Easter⁶⁹. The principal thing of note on this occasion was the bearing of one of the three swords by the king of Scotland;—the others were borne by the earls of Warren and Chester.

JOHN, the brother of Richard I., succeeded to the throne by proximity of blood, and by the nomination of his predecessor, with the consent and election of the states of the realm. He was crowned at Westminster, May 27, 1199, being Ascension-day, by Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, whose memorable speech, delivered in the assembly of peers before the coronation, hath already been noticed as

Brompton is the chief authority for the common opinion: his words are "*Apud Wintoniam in octavis Paschæ, ignominia captivitatis deleta, quasi novus rex solemniter coronatus est.*" M. Paris writes thus: "*Rex Richardus consilio procerum suorum in octavis Paschæ, licet aliquantulum renitens, apud Wintoniam coronatus est:*" but Matthew of Westminster, who uses the same sentence, concludes it in the words "*coronam portavit;*" agreeing with Robert of Gloucester's "*ber coroune,*"—an expression which will be understood by a reference to our note in p. 62.

showing the opinions which were then held on the subject of regal succession⁷⁰.

His queen Isabella was crowned on Sunday October 8, 1200, by the above-named prelate, and the king appears to have partaken the benediction⁷¹.

At the death of king John, London being in possession of the dauphin Louis, who had been invited to take the crown during the troubles of the late reign, HENRY III., then nine years of age, was brought to Gloucester and there crowned on the day of St Simon and St Jude in the year 1216, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, in the presence of Gualo, the legate from the holy see⁷². In the year 1220, on Whitsunday, this king was crowned again at Westminster⁷³, by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury,—“to the end,” saith Holinshed, “it might be said that now after the extinguishment of all seditious factions, he was crowned by the generall consent of all the estates and subjects of his realme⁷⁴.”

The coronation of Eleanor, the beautiful young queen of this monarch, took place on her marriage,

⁷⁰ See p. 15, and Appendix to Book I.

⁷¹ Hoveden, p. 461. From a record in the Tower of London we learn the sum which was paid for the coronation robes of the king and his consort on this occasion:—“*lxxliiii. lib. xix. sol. ix. den. quod posuit in robis emendis ad secundam coronationem nostram et ad coronationem regine nostre.*”—*Rot. Lib. 2 Johan.* Strutt's *Dress and Hab.* ii. 148.

⁷² This is entitled by Matthew Paris “*prima regis Henrici III. coro-*

and was celebrated with the greatest splendour, January 20, 1236; Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, performing the service. The minute account of it preserved by Matthew Paris hath frequently been useful to us as an evidence of many important facts, and it is no less valuable as a lively and amusing picture of antient manners. The writer brings before us the crowd of nobles and clergy and citizens who appeared in the procession⁷³, the concourse of minstrels who enlivened it with their art, and the profusion of banners and garlands and "strange shows" which illustrated its course: he then conducts us to the solemnities of the church and the festivities of the banquet; but, he concludes, why need I recount the train of those who performed the sacred offices of the church;—why describe the profusion of dishes which furnished the table; the abundance of venison, the variety of fish, the diversity of wine; the gaiety of the jugglers, the comeliness of the attendants?—Whatever the world could produce for glory or delight was there conspicuous.

natio, quæ per quendam circulum aureum facta fuit." It was done "*cum canticis et modulationibus quæ in coronationibus regum solent decantari.*"

⁷³ Speed says, from M. Paris and Walsingham, that Henry laid the first stone of the Lady Chapel at Westminster on the Saturday before this coronation: p. 579.

⁷⁴ See also Polydore Virgil.

⁷⁵ "*Convenerat autem, vocata ad convivium nuptiale, tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta religiosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas, tanta histrionum varietas, quòd vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet.*"—Matth. Paris, *sub an.* 1236.

EDWARD I. and Eleanor his queen were crowned in the new church at Westminster, by archbishop Kilwarbie, on Sunday the 19th of August, 1274. There were present Alexander king of Scotland and John count of Bretagne, with their ladies, the sisters of the king. "The king of Scots," we are told by Holinshed, "did homage unto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had doone to other kings of England ancestours to this king Edward.—At the solemnitie of this coronation," he adds, "there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) five hundred great horses, by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornewall, Glocester, Penbroke, Warren, and others, as they were alighted from their backs;" and from the account of a contemporary writer⁷⁶ we may presume that it was hardly inferior to the last in the number and magnificence of the company assembled, or the richness and splendour of their entertainment⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ Thomas Wikes. He speaks of the king as being "*sacrosancti crismatis oleo delibutus*."—*XV. Script.* vol. ii.

⁷⁷ It appears to have been the old practice to provide for the necessaries of the table, by sending precepts to the sheriffs of the several counties, enjoining them to assist the royal purveyors in procuring oxen, sheep, fowls, &c. in quantites proportioned to the extent and means of their respective districts. Some of these letters may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

For the supply of *wine*, which was always used in great profusion on these occasions, our earlier kings had recourse to their fertile duchie in the south of France; we find a writ of the reign before us directed

EDWARD II. and his queen Isabella received the crown on the 25th of February, being Shrove-Sunday, in the year 1308. They were consecrated by the bishop of Winchester, the primate being out of the realm⁷⁸. We read that during the ceremony the king offered first a pound of gold made like a king holding a ring in his hand, and afterwards a mark, or eight ounces of gold, formed into a pilgrim putting forth his hand to receive the ring; a conceit suggested by the legend of St Edward the Confessor⁷⁹.

"At the coronation of the king and queene," says our historian Speed, "(which the lords would have impeached had hee not promised reasonably to satisfie them about Gaveston) none was neere to Peirs in bravery of apparell or delicacie of fashion; which (and for that the king gave him St Edward's crowne to carry in that pompe) greatlie encreased the offence of the lords against him." Thus early, therefore, began to appear those feelings of discontent which nineteen years after led to the formal deposition of the misguided king. This measure was agreed upon by parliament in the year 1327, when

to the seneschal of Gascony and the constable of Bourdeaux, commanding them to buy a quantity of good wine and forward it to London in time for the coronation: this will be found in our Appendix.

⁷⁸ "There was such prease and throng of people at this coronation that a knight called Sir John Bakewell was thrust or crowded to death."
—Holinshed.

⁷⁹ See the account of the Ring at p. 75.

the homage of the lords was resigned in the legal form by Sir William Trussel, one of the judges⁸⁰, and the king delivered up the insignia of his office, lamenting his misfortune, but thanking the parliament that they consented to the election of his son.

EDWARD III. was declared king at Westminster on the 20th of January, 1326-7⁸¹ : on which occasion the archbishop of Canterbury (Walter Raynold) delivered a discourse to the people, exhorting them to pray for the king they had chosen⁸². He was crowned by the same prelate on the Candlemass day following, in Westminster-abbey, having first received knight-hood from the lord high steward⁸³.

Philippa the queen of Edward III. was crowned on the first Sunday in Lent, in the year 1327.

Having lately had occasion to record the homage done by the kings of Scotland to the sovereigns of England, we may notice here a performance of the same service by one of the latter to a king of France: Edward being summoned as a peer of that country

⁸⁰ See Prynne's *Sovereign Power of Parliaments*, part i. p. 79; Johnson's *Vindication of Magna Charta* (2d edit. 4to), p. 75; Brady's *Complete History*, vol. ii. p. 162; &c. Holinshed says that on the return of the parliamentary deputation "great joy was made of all men to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the choosing of a new king."

⁸¹ See the Act of Parliament which appoints him, in Brady's Appendix, No. 72. Knyghton says "*huic electioni universus populus consensit.*"

⁸² His text is said to have been "*For populi vox Dei.*" "By this

to the court of Philip II. went over in the third year of his reign, attended by so numerous a retinue of bishops, earls, noblemen and knights, that more than a thousand horses were employed in their service. Being arrived at Amiens, they found king Philip ready to receive them, and with him the kings of Bohemia, Majorca, and Navarre, and many other noble persons, "*car là estoient les douze pers de France pour le roy d'Angleterre festoyer,—et fut le roy moult grandement receu*⁸⁴." At the time appointed Edward appeared habited in a long robe of crimson velvet embroidered with golden leopards, a crown on his head, girt with his sword, and with gilt spurs on his feet: in this manner he came before the French king, who was seated in a chair of state, crowned, holding a sceptre in his hand, and habited in a long robe of violet-coloured velvet *parsemée* of golden *fleurs de lis*. He was then conducted to the throne by the grand chamberlain, and having laid aside his crown, his sword, and his spurs, did homage to the king as duke of Guyen and earl of Ponthieu⁸⁵.

we may see," as a writer remarks, "that all his predecessors were not of bishop Laud's mind; but thought there was a divine right *somewhere else* than where he placed it."

⁸⁴ Mr Anstis thinks it was from John of Heinnault, afterwards earl of Cambridge. See also his account of the bathing, &c. in *Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath*, p. 29.

⁸⁵ Froissart, vol. i. cap. 25.

⁸⁶ I have here in some degree followed the French historian De Serres on account of his minuteness of description; but it plainly ap-

RICHARD II. on the death of his grandfather Edward III. was declared by parliament next heir to the throne⁸⁶: he was crowned on the 16th of July, 1377, at Westminster, by Simon archbishop of Canterbury. The proceedings on this occasion, including the progress through the city of London, were full of pomp and magnificence. On St Swithun's day after dinner, the mayor and citizens assembled near the Tower, when the young king, clad in white garments, came forth with a great multitude in his suite⁸⁷: they proceeded through the street called *La Chepe*, and on to the palace at Westminster. On the morrow, the king, arraid in the fairest vestments and with buskins only upon his feet⁸⁸, came down into the hall. He was then conducted to the church, where the usual ceremonial was performed; and returning again to his palace, was carried on the shoulders of knights, being oppress with fatigue and long fasting. The feast, as the reader will expect from the character of the age, was splendid and profuse; but our his-

pers from Froissart that the statement of the former, so far as it relates to the act and words of the homage, is erroneous and unfounded. Speed had long ago remarked from this authority that "the homage was done onely by word, and not in that full manner which Serres mentioneth;" and a later writer hath ably examined the subject with the same result:—See Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleter.* iii. 158.

⁸⁶ "*Post Edouardi mortem, principes regni, habito ad Westmonasterium concilio, Ricardum principis Edouardi filium—regem dicunt, ad xvii. cal. Augusti.*"—Pol. Virgil.

⁸⁷ "*In sectâ suâ.*"—These particulars are from *Claus. I Ric. II. m. 44*; Rymer, vii. p. 157.

torian Walsingham, careful of his reputation for perfect veracity, declines to hazard a description which the reader might hesitate to receive. One thing only he ventures to notice concerning it: in the midst of the palace a hollow marble pillar was set up, surmounted by a large gilt eagle, from under the feet of which, through the four sides of the capital, flowed wine of different kinds throughout the day; nor was any one forbidden to partake of it. After dinner the king retired with a number of the nobility to his chamber, and was entertained till the time of supper with dancing and minstrelsy⁸⁰.

This coronation is remarkable as affording us the first record of the proceedings of the court of Claims, which was this time holden on the Thursday before the festival by John king of Castile and duke of Lancaster, high steward of England⁸⁰: of the ritual used on this occasion we have also a more perfect copy than hath been left in any other reign⁸¹.

Anne, the queen of Richard II., was crowned January 22d, 1382⁸², by archbishop Courtney, at West-

⁸⁰ "*Caligis tantummodo calciatus*,"—Rymer, vii. p. 157.

⁸⁰ "*Tripudiis, coreis, et solemnibus ministralciiis*,"—Ibid.

⁸⁰ The form of his enrolling the above-cited process is also recorded. "*Memorandum, quod predictus rex Castellæ et Legionis, dux Lancastriæ, et senescallus Angliæ, istum processum per manus suas proprias in cancellaria domini regis liberavit, ibidem in rotulis ejusdem cancellariæ irrotulandum*."

⁸¹ The *Liber Regalis*; from which is taken the subject of the vignette to Book IV.

⁸² Polydore says in 1384, the seventh year of the reign.

minster. "There were justes kept," saith Stow, "for the honour of such a solemnization, certaine dayes together, in which both the Englishmen shewed their force, and the queenes countrymen their prowesse."

Such was the splendid opening of a reign, which was destined, like that of Edward II., to close in sorrow and disgrace. Richard was deprived of the crown in the 23d year of his reign by the lords commissioners of parliament, and the homage of the peers resigned to him by the chief justice of the Common Pleas, the articles of his impeachment having first been read and recorded in parliament.

HENRY IV. having claimed the throne which thus became vacant⁹³, was freely acknowledged by the states⁹⁴ and crowned on the 13th of October, 1399, by archbishop Fitz-Alan, who on this occasion used the oil contained in the holy vessel whose history we have before remembered.

This coronation is the first in which the creation of knights of the Bath is particularly noticed by historians, though there is no doubt of the observance

⁹³ "*Proinde, sententiâ depositionis regis lectâ, constabat regnum Angliæ cum pertinentiis suis vacare. Quapropter dux Lancastriæ de loco suo surgens et stans erectus, ut posset à populo toto videri—dictum regnum Angliæ sic vacans, cum corona ac omnibus pertinentiis, vendicavit,*" &c.—Walsingham, *Ypod. Neutr.*

⁹⁴ "If there is any ground for the notion of a contract between a prince and his subjects, it must be when an elected king is on the throne,

of this formality in much earlier times. Forty-six gentlemen (among whom were three of the king's sons) watched on the vigil of the coronation at the Tower of London, and received the knighthood there on the day before the festival. From the account of Froissart, who describes the whole order of the ceremonies, it appears indeed that they were performed "*en grande feste et magnificence*:" besides the fountain of wine described in the last coronation, there were here nine others in Cheapside which were flowing both on the day of the procession through the city and on the following day. The number of attendants is also worthy of notice: our author assures us that six thousand horses were employed "*en convoyant ledit duc jusques a Westmonstier*;" the streets were adorned with hangings of various kinds, as was usual on public festivals⁹⁵.

The lady Jane, queen of Henry IV., was crowned at Westminster in the year 1403.

HENRY V. was consecrated by archbishop Fitz-Alan on the 9th of April (being Passion-Sunday) in the year 1413, his father having died on the 20th of

who owes that high dignity entirely to the choice of the nobility and the consent of the people; and such an one and no better, was this king Henry, whatever may be alledged to the contrary."—*Hered. Right of the Crown of Engl. Asserted*, p. 90.

⁹⁵ We are told by another authority that the sword of state was carried in this procession by the celebrated Sir Thomas Erpingham.

March preceding. Some of the peers are said to have shewn an unusual forwardness of zeal in favour of this prince, by offering him their homage before his coronation; a thing, as Hall observes, "not before experimented:" it is not certain, however, that the king accepted this ill-timed mark of loyalty⁹⁶.

We find a pompous description in the life of this king by Thomas de Elmham⁹⁷ of the circumstances attending the creation of the knights, the procession to Westminster, and the feast in the palace. Of the latter he says, What feast can be thought more splendid than one that was honoured with so royal a presence, and graced by such a company of nobles and of ladies; where the ear was filled with the tumultuous noise of trumpets or soothed with the sweeter melody of the harp; and where the countenance was gladdened by the liberal gifts of Bacchus and of Ceres?—in sooth whatever, nourisht in the lap of earth, the bosom of the deep, or the regions of serene air, could serve to increase the general joy, was brought to swell the glory of this feast.

Katherine of France, the queen of Henry V., was

⁹⁶ Rapin, *Hist. d'Angleterre*, tom. iii. p. 419. I subjoin the following account from Polydore Virgil:—"Princeps Henricus, facto patris funere, concilium principum ad Westmonasterium convocandum curat, in quo dum de rege creando, more majorum, agitur, ecce tibi, continuo aliquot principes ultro in ejus verba jurare ceperunt: quod benevolentiae officium nulli antea, priusquam rex renunciatus esset, praestitum constat, adeo Henricus ab ineunte aetate spem omnibus optimae indolis fecit." "Mag-

crowned by archbishop Chicheley on the 24th of February, 1420-1. The long account which Fabian gives of the festivities which took place on this occasion is so characteristic of the age, that no excuse will be offered for inserting the following passages from his Chronicle.

After the "solempnysacion" in the church, our author informs us that the queen was "conueyed in to the greate halle of Westmynster, and there set to dyner. Upon whose ryght hande satte at the ende of the same table the archebyshop of Cauntorbury, and Henrye surnamed the ryche cardynall of Wynchester. And vppon the lefte hande of the quene satte the kynge of Scottes in hys estate, the whyche was serued wyth couered messe, like vnto the forenamed by-shoppes, but after them."

"And ye shall vnderstande, that this feaste was al of fyshe. And for the orderynge of the seruyce thereof were dyuers lordes appoynted for hede offycers, as stewarde, controller, surueyour, and other honourable offyces. The whiche with other ordered the seruyce of the feest as foloweth, and thus for the fyrst course.

nates regni," saith Thomas of Elmham, "*ut sibi eorum benevolentia clarius appareret, ante coronationis solennia seu iuramentum de justo modo regnandi, ut moris est, prestitum, protestacione tamen præhabita ne traheretur postèrius in exemplum, unanimi assensu sibi homagium obtulerunt; quod prius in Angliæ regno raro aut nunquam legitur contigisse,"* &c.

⁵⁷ *Vita Henrici V.* à Hearne, cap. xii. See also an account of the knights in Anstis, p. 39.

Brawne and mustarde, ded elles in burneux, frument with balien, pyke in erbage, lamprey powdered, trought, codlyng, playes fryed, marlyng fryed, crab-bys, leche lumbarde floryshed, tartys. And a sotyltye called a pellycane syttyng on his nest with her byrdes, and an ymage of saynte Katheryne holdyng a boke and disputyng with the doctoures, holdyng a reason in her ryghte hande, saynge: *Madame le royne, and the pellycan as an answeere Ce est la signe et du roy, pur tenir ioy, et a tout sa gent, elle mete sa entent.*

"The seconde course.—Gely coloured wyth columbyne floures, white potage or creme of almandes, breame of the see, counger, solys, cheuen, barbyll with roche, freshe samon, halybut, gurnarde, rochet broyled, smelth fryed, creuys or lobster; leche damaske with the kynges worde or prouerbe flourysshed, *Vne sanz plus*; lamprey freshe baken; flampeyne flourysshed with a scochon royall, and therein iii. crownes of golde planted with floure delyce and floures of camemyll wrought of confeccions. And a sotyltye named a panter with an ymage of saynte Katheryne²⁸ with a whele in her hande, and a rolle wyth a reason in that other hande, sayeng, *La royne ma file, in ceste ile, per bon reson, aues renoun.*

"The thyrd course." This was likewise of fish; with "a leche called the whyte leche flourysshed with

²⁸ The "ymage of saynte Katheryne" is doubtless introduced from her being the tutelary saint of the queen, who bore her name.

hawthorne leuys and redde hawys. A marche payne garnyshed wyth dyuers fygures of angelles, among the which was set an ymage of saint Katheryne holdynge thys reason, *Il est escrit, pur uoir et cit, per mariage pure cest guere ne dure*. And lastely a sotyltie named a tigre lōkyng in a myrrour, and a man syttinge on horsse backe clene armed holdyng in his armes a tigre whelpe with this reason, *Per force sanz reason ie ay pryse ceste beste*. And with his owne hande makynge a countenance of throyng of myrrours at the great tigre. The whych held this reason, *Gile che mirrour, ma fete distour*. And thus with al honour was finished this solempne coronacion."

HENRY VI., although but eight months old when his father died, was named successor to the throne; the conduct of affairs being given to the able hands of his uncles the dukes of Gloucester and Bedford. In the year 1429, being then in the ninth year of his age, he was crowned at Westminster by archbishop Chicheley, on St Leonard's day, the 6th of November. On this occasion thirty-six gentlemen received the knighthood of the Bath.

"And now shall ye heere of the solempnyte of the coronacion of the kynge⁸⁰. All the prelattes wente on procession berynge eche of them a relyk of dy-

⁸⁰ This account is extracted from a manuscript in the Cotton library.

uerse sayntes. And the prior of the same place bare a rodde called *virga regia*. And the abbot bare the kyng's septure, and my lord of Warwyk bare the kyng to chyrche in a cloke of scarlet furred right as the newe knyghtes wente with furred hoodes with menever. And than he was leyde vpon the high scaffold, and that was covered all with red say between the high autere and the quere. And he was set in his astate in the myddes of the scaffold there, beholdyng the people all abowte sadly and wysely. Then made the erchebisshop of Caunterbery a proclamacion on the iiij. quarters of the scaffold. "And thanne the archebysshop and all other bysshoppes with all the prelates stondyng rownde aboute hym, redde exorcioñs ouyr hym and many antemes songe with note."

After the cerēmonies of the coronation were ended, he "rose vp ayen and wente to the shryne. And there was he dyspoyled of all his bysshopp's gere, and arayd as a kyng in riche cloth of gold, with a crowne on his hede; which crowne the kyng dyd doo make for hym self. And so the kyng was led thugh the paleys in to the halle: and the newe knyghtes before hym, in her aray of scarlet; and all the other lordes folowyng hym. And than cam the chaunceler with his crosse and in his abyte like a chapon in a garment of red chamlet furred with whyte menyvere; and than folowed the kyng. And he was led betwene the bysshoppe of Durham and the bysshop of Bathe, and my

lord of Warwyk bare up his trayne. And before hym rode the erle of Salysbery as constable of Engeland in stede of the duke of Bedford, and thanne the duke of Glowcestre as styward of Engeland; and aftyr, the duke of Norfolke as m'chall of Engelande; and before the kyng iiiij. lordes berynge iiiij. swerdes, ij. shethed and ij. naked. And oon of the iiij. was withoute poynte, &c.

“ Sittyng at the mete the kyng kept his astate; and on the right hand sat the cardynall with a lower astate, and on the left hande satt the chaunceler and a bysshop of Fraunce, and no moo at that table. And on the righth hand of the table at that boord sat the barons of the v. portes. And so forth the clerkes of the same chauncery. And on the left hande of the hall sat the mayre of London with the aldyrmen. And so forth worthy cominers: and in the myddis of the hall sat the bisshoppes, justices, and worthy knyghts and equyers. And so they fylled bothe the mydde boordes of the hall. And upon a scaffold stode the kynges herawdes of armes all the tyme with crownes on theyr hedes: and at the fyrst cours they came down from her scaffold, and they wente before the kynges chaum-pyon Syr Phelip Dymok that rode in the hall bright as seynt George. And he proclaimed in the iiij. quarters of the hall that the kyng was a rightfull kyng and heyre to the crowne of Engeland: and what maner man that wyll say the contrary he was redy to defende

it as his knyght and his chaumpion, for by that offyce he holdith his lande."

As the reader may perhaps have been ill satisfied with the lenten repast which was lately offered him, I shall here present another feast with more variety in its composition.

"Now the fyrst course¹⁰⁰.—The bores hede enarmed in a castell royall, frumenty with venysown, viaunde ryall gylt, groce, char, swan, capon stewed, heron, grete pyke; reed leche with a whyght lyon crowned ther-inne; custardys ryall with a riall lybhard of gold set ther-in, holdyng a floure delyce; frytoure like a sonne, a floure delyce ther inne. *A Sotyltye*:—Seynt Edward and seynt Lowes armed in their cootes of armes bryngyng inne the yonge kyng bytwene them in his cote armure¹⁰¹.

"The ij^{de} course.—Viaunde blank, jely wreten and noted with *Te Deum laudamus*, pyg endored, crane, bytore, cony, chykins endored, partrich, pecok, grete breame; lech with an antelop crowned and shynyng as golde; flaunpayne powdered with lybards and floure delyce of gold; fruto^r custard and a lybbardis hed with ij. estrych federes¹⁰². The emperor and kyng

¹⁰⁰ The following account of the feast is given, with some variation, in *Fabian's Chronicle*, p. 378.

¹⁰¹ To each of these "sotyltyes" is attached a "reason" or ballad, which are here omitted, being more correctly given by Fabian.

¹⁰² "A fritour garnished with a leoperdes hede," &c.—Fabian.

Henry the vth in the mantell of the [Garter] bryng-
yng in the kyng in the same sute.

"The iij^{de} course.—Quynces in compost, blaunde-
shore¹⁰³, venyson rosted, egrete, curlewys and cokkes,
ploveres, quayles, snytes, grete byrdes, larkes, grete
carpe, leche made with a vyolet coloure¹⁰⁴, bakemetes,
shekyns powdered with losynges gylt with floures of
borage; frutour gryspe¹⁰⁵. *A Sotyltye*:—Our Lady
syttynge and hyr chyld in hyr armes, holdyng in every
hande a crowne; and seynt George knelyng on that
oon syde and seynt Denyse on that other syde, pre-
sentyng the kyng to our Lady."

The victorious sword of Henry V. having gained
another sceptre for his son, this monarch made his
progress to receive it in the year 1431. On entering
the French capital from St Denis, he was met by the
national and municipal authorities, who, in the true
spirit of the time, were accompanied by the Nine
Worthies "syttynge richely on horseback, armed with
the armes to them apperteyning." On the 7th of
December he was "honorably accompanied to the
church of our Lady in Paris, where he was anointed
and crowned by the cardinal bishop of Winchester,
after which he departed to the palace, having one
crown on his head and another borne before him¹⁰⁶."

¹⁰³ "Blaund sure powdered with quarter foyles guylt."—Fabian.

¹⁰⁴ "Of thre colours."—*Ibid.* ¹⁰⁵ "A frytour crispid."—*Id.*

¹⁰⁶ Grafton. See Appendix to Book II. Nos. 2 and 3.

In the year 1445 king Henry was married to the lady Margaret, his queen. On her approach towards London, says Fabian, "she was mette with the mayre, aldermen, and sherifes of the cytee, and the craftes of the same, in browne blewe with brawderyd sleuys : that is to meane, euerye mysterye or crafte wyth conysaunce of hys mysterye, and redde hodes upon eyther of their heddes; and so the same day brought her unto London, where for her were ordeyned sumptuose and costely pagentes and ressemblaunce of dyuerse olde hystories, to the great comforte of her and such as came with her¹⁰⁷ : and so with great triumph she was brought vnto Westmynster, where vpon the thyrtye daye of the moneth of Maye, that was the Sondag after Trynyte Sondag, she was solemply crowned." The ceremony was probably performed by cardinal Stafford, then archbishop of Canterbury.

EDWARD IV., the son of Richard duke of York, and a descendant of Edward III., obtained the regal power on the deposition of Henry VI. in the year 1461¹⁰⁸. We are told by Fabian that he was "elected and chosen for king of England" in a great council

¹⁰⁷ Stow informs us of "certaine verses" upon these pageants, which he tells us were all made by John Lydgate.

¹⁰⁸ Henry was deposed because he had not conformed to the provisions of the Act of Settlement, "*quod non stetisset pacto, neque paruisset senatus consulti decreto.*"—Polydore Virgil. This writer's account of Edward's election and coronation is as follows:—"Eduardus

of the lords spiritual and temporal, with the agreement of the commons there present : and that after this parliamentary election he was brought to Westminster, and "sittyng in his estate royall in the greate hall of the same, a question was asked of the people then presente if they would admitte hym for their kyng and soueraigne lorde, the which with one voice cried Yea, yea." He was then proclaimed; and on the 29th of June, 1461¹⁰⁹, was crowned at Westminster by archbishop Bourchier, afterwards cardinal. The following passage from an old historical fragment is a good illustration of the antient progresses through the capital.

"The same xxvith day of Juny the king E. removid frome Sheene towardis London then being Thursday; and upon the way receyvid him the mayre and his brethirn all in scarlet with iiij c. commoners well horsid and cladde in grene, and so avauncing theime self passid the bridge, and thurgh the cite they rode streigte unto the toure of London and restid there all nigt, where as on the morow he made xxxii. knigtis of the Bathe, the whiche day att afir noone deperting frome the toure, in like goode ordre as they cam

post Henricum profligatum, partim tantâ victoriâ, partim communi principum populorumque ad se defectione elatus, triumphantis imperatoris ritu Londinum revertitur; convocatoque, more majorum, concilio ad Westmonasterium, ad iii. cal. Julii, rex creatur." So also Hall.

¹⁰⁹ So Fabian, Grafton, Polydore, &c.; 28th, Speed. See the *Paston Letters*, vol. i. pp. 220, 230-2, respecting the day.

thiddir, theis xxxii. nw knyghtes p̄ceding immediatly bifore the king in theire gownis and hoodis and tookins of whigte silke upon theire shouldeirs, as is accustumid att the Bath, and so in this goodely ordre he was brougt to Westmynstir, where as on the morow, being Seint Petirs day and Sonday, he was solempnely crownid by the handis of tharchebusshop of Cantorbury with grete triumphe and honor¹¹⁰."

Lady Elizabeth Gray, the queen of Edward IV., was crowned at Westminster by the same archbishop, on the 26th of May, 1465, being Whitsunday¹¹¹.

On the death of Edward IV., his eldest son was proclaimed king as Edward V., and provision was made for his coronation¹¹²; but the estates of the realm having resolved that the offspring of the lady Gray should not inherit the crown¹¹³, it was given

¹¹⁰ Sprotti Chron. p. 288.

¹¹¹ Fabian; and the Fragment above quoted. "*Die Sabbati regina in uno hors-leter equitabat per Chepe et altos vicos Londoniæ, et omnes novi milites, ante, usque dum venerunt apud Westmonasterium. Et die Dominica sequente coronata fuit in regnam Angliæ à Domino Thoma Boughcher, Cantuariæ archiepiscopo.*"—Wilhelmi Wyrcester Annales, à Hearne, p. 503.

¹¹² Fabian. That Richard would not himself have impeached the claim of his nephew may I think be inferred from this circumstance, and from his causing letters of summons to be issued for the attendance of those persons who were to receive the knighthood of the Bath. A copy of this letter may be seen in Anstis's *Observations*, &c.

¹¹³ "The barons and commons," saith Buck, "with one common and generall dislike, and with an universall negative voyce, had utterly refused to have the sonnes of king Edward to bee their kinge."

to Richard duke of Gloucester, the late king's brother¹¹⁴.

RICHARD III., having first been duly proclaimed on the 20th of June, was conducted on the 5th of July, 1483, from the Tower to Westminster with great state and attendance. "The duke of Buckingham," says Buck, "was of most eminent note in that day's bravery; his habitt and caparison of blue velvett embrothered with golden naves of carts burninge, and the trappings supported by footemen in brave and costly garments suteable to the rest."

On the following day, as we learn from Grafton¹¹⁵, "the king, with queene Anne his wife, came downe out of the white hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kinges Benche. And from thence the king and queene goyng upon raye cloth barefooted¹¹⁶, went unto Saint Edward's

¹¹⁴ "*Coacto principum concilio, ad Westmonasterium pridie nonarum Julii rex creatur coronaturque.*"—Pol. Virg. Mr Walpole very justly remarks that this act "bore a great resemblance to a much later event which, being the last of the kind, we term The Revolution."—*Historic Doubts*, p. 45.

¹¹⁵ Hall and Grafton both describe the manner of this coronation; I have preferred the latter, as it is the only one of which he gives an account.

¹¹⁶ That is, with boots or buskins only, of cloth or silk, and without sandals over them. Such was the antient practice; Richard II., as we have lately seen, came forth on the morning of his coronation "*caligis tantummodo calciatus*," as the *Forma Coronationis* ascribed to his reign also directs; "*princeps coronandus tantummodo caligis sine sotularibus calciatur*:"—the *sotulares* or *sublatares* being soles or sandals.

shrine¹¹⁷, and all his nobilitie goyng with him, euery lorde in his degree. And first went the trompets and then the heraultes of armes in their rich cotes, and next folowed the crosse with a solempne procession, the priestes hauyng fine surplesses and gray amyssés upon them. The abbottes and bishops mytred and in riche copes and euery of them caryed their crosiers in their handes: the bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the cardinall."

Being now come into the church, "forthwith there came up before the king and the queene both priests and clarkes, that song most delectable and excellent musick." The usual ceremonies were then performed, "and so in order as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambers for a season: during which time the duke of Norffolke came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground in cloth of golde, as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

"About foure of the clock the king and queene entred the hall, and the king sate in the middle and the queene on the left hande of the table, and on every side of her stode a countesse holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke." "At the ende of dynner," our author concludes, "the maier

¹¹⁷ It is evident from what follows, as well as from Hall's account of the ceremony, that the shrine of St Edward is here mentioned by mistake; it should be merely that he went to the church. Mr Dart in his *History of the abbey* adopts this erroneous statement.

of London served the king and queene with ipocras, and had of eche of them a cup of golde with a cover of golde. And by that tyme all was done it was darke night; and so the king and queene returned to their chambers, and every man to his lodging."

The concourse of nobility at this coronation was, as Walpole observes, extraordinarily great; it is remarkable that three duchesses of Norfolk were present. But of the circumstances attending it, that which more particularly claims our notice relates to the unfortunate young prince whose pretensions to the throne had just been set aside. Arrangements were certainly made for Edward himself and his attendants to appear in the procession: whether or no he really attended the solemnity, we have not the means of learning; but the official record of his "apparel and array," as delivered from the great wardrobe, is no unimportant part of the mysterious history of his life¹¹⁸.

In this reign, as in some former ones, we have a vague report of a second coronation: the king having made a progress to York shortly after his accession to the throne, is said to have been "the second tyme crowned by doctor Rotheram archbishopp of Yorke, in the cathedrall church, with greate solempnity;" when "his sonne alsoe was invested in the principal-

¹¹⁸ See Walpole's *Historic Doubts*, p. 65, and the *Antiquarian Repository*, vol. i. p. 28.

litye of Wales." So Sir George Buck: Fabian, however, hath nothing to this effect; nor Hall, whose account of the circumstance is probably a correct one.

HENRY VII., the leader of a successful rebellion, having obtained the crown by force and the favour of a malignant faction in the state, was confirmed in his power by a parliament of his attainted adherents, and crowned on the 30th of October 1485. The ceremony was performed by cardinal Bourchier, Henry being the third king who was consecrated at his hands. With respect to other particulars little can now be collected; for although a *Devise* of the ceremonial, as arranged beforehand, hath reached the present time¹¹⁹, it is worthy of remark that none of the contemporary chroniclers, though they delight in extolling the glory of the reign, have left us any account of this transaction. Lord Bacon admits that Henry's marriage was celebrated "with greater triumph and demonstrations (especially on the people's part) of joy and gladnesse, then the dayes eyther of his entry or coronation¹²⁰;" and it may fairly be presumed that the conduct and attendance of the solemnity could not be recorded with advantage.

¹¹⁹ This tract, which has been quoted in various parts of the present volume, was printed (very incorrectly, indeed) by the late John Ives, Esq. Suffolk herald extraordinary, in his *Select Papers relating to English Antiquities*, 4to, 1773.

¹²⁰ *Historie of Henry VII.* p. 16.

¹²¹ It is remarkable that the *Little Devise* above quoted is arranged

Elizabeth, the queen of Henry VII. and the daughter of Edward IV., was married to him shortly after his coronation; but lest he might seem to rest too much on his supposed matrimonial title, he delayed the time of her receiving the crown till the third year of his reign¹²¹. Her coronation took place on the 25th of November, 1487: the ceremony being performed by Morton archbishop of Canterbury. The following quotations from a curious account of this festival will perhaps be acceptable to the reader¹²².

“On the Friday next before St Katerynes day, the queenes good grace, royally apparelled, and accompanied with my ladie the kings mother, and many other great estates, bothe lordes and ladies, richely besene, came forwarde to the coronacion; and, at their coming furth from Grenewich by water, there was attending upon her there, the maior, shrifes, and aldermen of the citie, and divers and many wurshipfull comoners, chosen out of every craft, in their livereyes, in barges freshely furnished with banners and streamers of silke richely beaton with the armes and bagges of their craftes; and, in especiall, a barge called the bachelor’s barge, garnished and apparelled passing all other; wherin was ordeynid a great redde

as for the joint coronation of the king and “dame Elizabeth his wief;” if this was really composed before the event, it must have been expected that the royal marriage would take place much sooner than it did, and that the queen would be crowned with her consort.

¹²² *Coronacion of Queene Elizabeth*, Ives, p. 120.

dragon spowting flames of fyre into the Thamess, and many other gentlemanlie pagiaunts, well and curiously devised to do her highness sporte and pleasoure with. And her grace, thus royally appparelled and accompanied, and also furnished in every behalfe with trumpettes, claryons, and other mynstrelleys as aperteynid and was fitting to her estate roiall, came from Grenewich aforesaid and landed at Towre wharfe and so enterid into the Towre; where the kings highnes welcomed her in such maner and fourme as was to all the estates and others there being present, a very good sight and right joyous and comfortable to beholde." On the following day, being appparelled in white cloth of gold, and with a circlet of gold and pretious stones on her head, "her fayre yelow heare hanging down playne behinde her back," she proceded from the Tower to Westminster, when all the streets through which her highness passed were "clensed, dressed, and besene with clothes of tapestrie and arras; and some streets, as Cheepe, hanged with ryche clothe of golde, velvet, and silke; and along the streets, from the Towre to Powles, stode in order all the crafts of London in their liveriès; and in divers places of the citie were ordeynid singing children, some arayed like angelles, and other like virgins, to sing sweete songes as her grace passed by."

On the morrow, the day of the coronation, being then in a kirtle and mantle of purple velvet, the queen

"came furth of Westminster hall; from the which place to the pulpit in Westminster church, she went upon newe bay clothe;—but, more pitie, there was so moche people inordinately pressing to cut the bay-clothe that the queene went upon, that certin persones in the presse were slayne; and the order of the ladies following the queene were broken and distressed."

The formalities of the coronation were then gone through in the usual manner and with appropriate splendour. We observe that a goodly stage was "ordaynid" in the church "wherin was the king's grace, my ladie his mother, and a goodlie sight of ladies and gentlewomen attending upon her; as *my ladie Margaret Pole*, daughter to the duke of Clarence¹²³, and many other."

The service being thus "solempnely ended," the court returned to the palace; and here also we find another "goodlie stage" for the king and my lady his mother, out of a window on the left side of the hall, "privilie and at their pleasure to see that noble feast and service." The tables were furnisht with the various productions of antient cookery: "Feisaunt royall, swan with chawdron, capons of high greece, and pike in latymer sawse" were among the dishes

¹²³ Afterwards the countess of Salisbury, so barbarously put to death by Henry VIII. But *quære*, was she at this time married to sir Richard Pole?

served at the royal board. At the second course "as the high bourde was servid, the kings mynstrells played a song before the queene, that Garter king of armes, with other kings of armes, harawlds, and pursuyvants, did their obeysaunce, and at the presens, in the name of all the officers, gave the queene thanckings, as followeth, saying, Right high, mightie, most noble and excellent princesse, most christian queene, and all our most dreadde souveraign and liege ladie, we the officers of armes and servaunts to all nobles beseche almighty God to thanke yow for the great and abundant largesse which your grace hath geven us in the honor of your most rightuous coronacion, and to sende your grace to lyve in honor and vertue.—And that done, she was cryed, as enseweth, in five places of the hall, by the said Garter, *Largesse* three tymes, *De la treshault, trespuissant, tresexcellent princesse, la tresnoble royne Dangleterre, et de Fraunce, et dame de Irland, Largesse*; and at every seconde crye, as enseweth, *Largesse*, as afore, *De la treshault, trespuissant, &c.* That done, the officers went to the cubborde, to the erle of Arundell, great butler, and dranke. Then played the queenes mynstrells, and after them the mynstrells of other estates."—After this the queen was served with fruit and wafers, and by the mayor of London with ipocras; she then "departed with God's blessing and to the rejoycing of many a trew Englishman's hart."

HENRY VIII. and Katherine of Arragon, his queen, were crowned on the 24th of June, 1509, by archbishop Warham. A short abstract of Hall's account of the festival will serve to show the prodigious splendour with which it was celebrated.

On the 21st of the month the king came from Greenwich to London: and the next day was devoted to the ceremonies of the Bath. Our author then proceeds: "The morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, his grace with the quene departed from the Tower through the citie of London, agaynst whose coming, the streates where his grace should passe were hanged with tapistrie and clothe of arras. And the greate parte of the southe side of Chepe with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred on the one side, from ouer agaynst Grace church unto Bredstreate in Chepeside, where euery occupacion stode in their lueries in ordre, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions; and so assendyng to the worshipfull craftes: highest and lastly stode the maior with the aldermen. The goldsmithes stalles unto the ende of the Olde Chaunge beeing replenished with virgins in white, with braunches of white waxe: the priestes and clerkes in riche copes with crosses and censers of silver, with censyng his grace and the quene also as they passed." Of the king he adds "to discriue his apparell, his grace ware in his upperst apparell a

robe of crimosyn velvet furred with armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embrowdered with diamondes, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones, a great bauderike about his necke of greate balasses : the trapper of his horse damaske gold with a depe purfell of armyns." The queen was borne in a litter by two white palfreys which were trapped in white cloth of gold ; her person was " appareled in white satyn embroudered, her heeire hanging doune to her backe of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her head a coronall set with many riche orient stones."

" The morowe folowyng beyng Sondaie, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his quene, at time convenient, under their canabies borne by the barons of the five portes, went from the saied palaice to Westminster abbey upon clothe called vulgarly cloth of ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled by the rude and common people immediately after their repaire into the abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred observaunce and auncient custome, his grace with the quene were annoynted and crouned by the archebusshop of Cantorbury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate multitude of commons of the same. After the whiche solempnitie and coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and temporall did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the quenes

grace every one under their canopies, where by the lorde marshall and his tipped staves was made rome, and every lord, and other noble men, accordyng to their tenures, before claimed and vewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and other of his graces counsayll, entred into suche rome and office that daie, to execute their services accordyngly." He then describes the estates of the king and queen, concluding in his usual style: "What should I speake or write of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meates prepared for this high and honorable coronacion, provided for aswel in the parties beyond the sea as in many and sundery places within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson: or of the honorable ordre of the services, the cleane handelyng and breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plentifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone went unfeasted."

Our author's account of the challenge must not be omitted. "The seconde course beyng served, in at the haule doore entered a knight armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume and a sumptuous of oistriche fethers on his helmet, sit-tyng on a great courser trapped in tissue and embroudered with tharmes of England and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presented hymself with humble

reverence before the kynges maiestie, to whom Garter kyng of herauldes cried and said with a loude voyce, Sir knight, from whence come you, and what is your pretence? This knightes name was Sir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the kyng by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered the saied kyng of armes in effecte after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether is not concernyng any matter of any place or countrey, but onely this. And therewithall commaunded his heraulde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne herauld by proclamacion to saie: If there be any persone, of what estate or degree soever he be, that wil saie or prove that king Henry the eight is not the rightfall enheritor and kyng of this realme, I Sir Robert Dimmocke here his champion offre my glove, to fight in his querell with any persone to thutteraunce.¹²⁴ The customary *largesse* and the serving with *ipocras* are then detailed in the conclusion of the feast, and the solemnities

¹²⁴ This is quite in conformity to the old mode of trial by combat in appeals. "*Tunc interrogabit eum Constabularius, Quisquam ipse sit homo qui armatus venit ad januam iustarum, quod sibi nomen, et quæ causa veniendi? Et respondet Appellans, Ego talis sum, A. de K. Appellans, qui venio ad hoc iter, &c. ad faciendum, &c.*"—Spelman, *Gloss. v. Campio*. See some further particulars relating to the champion in the Additional Notes.

of this "triumphaunt coronacion" were followed by jousts and turnies worthy of this golden age of pageants.

Lady Anne Boleyn, the second queen of this monarch, was crowned on the 1st of June, 1533, being Whitsunday, by archbishop Cranmer. Of this coronation, as well as of the last, a long and minute account is preserved by Hall, to which, as the circumstances attending them are generally the same, I shall beg leave to refer the reader. It was preceded by a voyage from the royal manor of Greenwich, and by the customary creation of knights, who were "bathed and shryven accordyng to the old usage of England." The procession by land was enlivened, as usual, by "marvailous connyng pageauntes," in which Apollo with the Muses, and Saint Anne with her children, had each a conspicuous place: the Three Graces also took their stand on Cornhill, and the Cardinal Virtues in Fleet Street: Nor is this all; a fountain of Helicon, with a courteous inconsistency, ran Rhenish wine, and its rival, the conduit in Cheap, poured forth claret. In the coronation itself there is nothing that demands our notice: the feast was celebrated with great order and marvellous good attendance. The queen was seated in the midst of the high table under a cloth of state, the countesses of Oxford and Worcester standing on either side. "At the tables ende," saith our author, "satte the archebishoppe of

Cauntorbury, on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest, betwene the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxford, stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diner tyme." The king, with divers ambassadors, stood to behold the entertainment in a little closet which was made "out of the cloyster of S. Stephens" on the right hand side of the hall¹³⁵. The largess, the wafers and ipocras, and the "voyde of spice and comfettes" concluded the royal banquet; and the lord mayor of London, having done the service of his city and "bearyng his cuppe in his hande, with his brethren went through the hal to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke"¹³⁶.

Of the other queens of Henry VIII. none appear to have been honoured with a coronation.

EDWARD VI. received the crown on Shrove-sunday, February 20, 1546-7, and was anointed by archbishop Cranmer. He was previously knighted by the duke of Somerset, protector. On the day before the coronation, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the

¹³⁵ See the coronation of Henry the Seventh's queen, where the place described is on the left hand side: probably supposing the reader to look from the door.

¹³⁶ The reader will not want to be reminded that Shakespeare has given us a lively account of this coronation in his *Henry the Eighth*.

¹³⁷ A most valuable representation of this royal progress, and of the

king proceeded from the Tower "in most roiall and goodly wise" towards his palace at Westminster. The line of streets through which the procession passed was adorned in the usual manner¹²⁷, and many "goodly pageants and devises" were displayed for his welcoming. At the Conduit in Cheap, Valentine and Orson were exhibited; and at a certain distance from thence stood Sapience and the Seven Liberal Sciences, "which declared certaine goodly speeches," rather too long for repetition¹²⁸. An epitome of the story of Jason was then produced, which was followed by a number of other shows, with more orations than the time permitted to be spoken. But the choicest spectacle of all was the exploit of an Arragonsan, who descended from the battlements of Saint Paul's upon a rope made fast to an anchor at the dean's gate¹²⁹, and returning up again "played certaine misteryes on the said rope," which appear to have been particularly acceptable to the young monarch and the crowd assembled.

The ceremonies were performed in the usual manner, not excepting the office of the mass, which was

decorations of the city, is preserved by an engraving publisht by the Society of Antiquaries, from an antient picture formerly at Cowdray in Sussex, but since unfortunately destroyed.

¹²⁷ The authority for this account will be found in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 310.

¹²⁹ Holinshed has the following quaint note on this circumstance: "Paul's steeple laic at anchor."

said by the archbishop of Canterbury.¹³⁰ At the feast the king sat under his estate, and on the right hand of the same table sat the protector and the archbishop. After the feast "it was ordeyned that there should be made a certain number of knights, instead of the Bath, because the time was so short that they could not be made of the Bath according to the ceremonies thereunto apperteyning." Thus ended the ceremony; and on the morrow there were holden "royall justes against all comers."

MARY, the elder daughter of Henry VIII. and the first female sovereign of this realm, was crowned on the 1st of October, 1553. The ceremony was performed by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, both the archbishops being then prisoners in the Tower. The progress through the city was markt by similar exhibitions to those we have before noticed. In Paul's church-yard one Master Heiwood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made an oration in Latin and English: and, as if to outdo the flying Argosine at the last coronation, we have here a Dutchman standing on the weathercock of Paul's steeple, who, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood sometimes on one foot and shook the

¹³⁰ The order for the ceremonial may be seen in Prynn's *Signal Loyalty*, and Burnet's *History of the Reformation*.

other, and then kneeled on his knees, "to the great marvell of all people¹³¹." On her majesty's passing Cheapside the chamberlain of London presented her with a purse of cloth of gold containing a thousand marks of gold.

The ceremonies of the inauguration were performed, it is said, according to the old custom, but we have no particular account of them. They were not fully ended "till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night, that she returned from the church."

ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry VIII. and queen Anne Boleyn, was crowned on Sunday January 15, 1558-9, by Dr Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, the see of Canterbury being then vacant, and Dr Heath, archbishop of York, declining to officiate because of the change in religion. Oglethorpe, it is said, was the only prelate who could be prevailed on to assist at the solemnity, and it was performed by him according to the old rites, and Bishop Bonner's vestments were borrowed for his use¹³². Perhaps at no former coronation were more pains bestowed to testify the loyalty of the citizens in the progress from the Tower to Westminster. The age of pageantry had not yet passed away; and the accession of a "virgin queen" gave ample scope to the fancy of

¹³¹ Holinshed.

¹³² Camden, Burnet, and *Entire Cerem.* p. 38.

those whose office it was to welcome her appearance in the capital. In the taste and character of the shows there was however a remarkable alteration. "Five and twenty years before," an elegant writer observes, "when the mother of this queen passed through London to her coronation, the pageants exhibited derived their personages and allusions chiefly from pagan mythology or classical fiction. But all was now changed; the earnestness of religious controversy in Edward's time, and the fury of persecution since, had put to flight Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces; Learning indeed had kept her station and her honors, but she had lent her lamp to other studies, and whether in the tongue of ancient Rome, or modern England, Elizabeth was hailed in Christian strains, and as the sovereign of a Christian country¹³³." Holinshed, who describes the whole of this procession with the greatest minuteness, informs us that the companies of the city "stood along the streets one by another, inclosed with railes hanged with cloths, and themselves well apparelled with manie rich furies, and their liverie hoods upon their shoulders in comelie and seemlie maner, having before them sundrie persons well apparelled in silks and chains of gold; as wiflers and garders of the said companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as

¹³³ Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Q. Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 251.

well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, silver, velvet, damaske, sattin, and other silks, plentifullic hanged all the waie, as the queenes highnesse passed from the Tower thorough the citie." To crown the whole, on her arrival at Temple Bar, Gogmagog and Corineus, two giants furnisht accordingly, were seen holding above the gate a table wherein was written in Latin verse "the effect of all the pageants which the citie before had erected." It is singular that with so full an account of the preparatory solemnities we have none of the great ceremony itself: even the feast is but slightly noticed by our author; perhaps it is enough for us that it "tooke end with great joy and contentation to all the beholders."

And here, for the present, we must break off this chronicle of pageants. It was the author's first intention to have continued the historical part of his work up to the present times: much important matter, however, hath grown upon his hands for the illustration of what hath already been attempted, the insertion of which will fully occupy his remaining pages. Having accompanied the reader through the long tract of eight hundred years, he now therefore begs permission to retire, bidding him "hertely farewell."

¶ An Epilogue.

So lytle booke, God sende the good passage,
Theset wel thy way, be simple of manere;
Loke thy clothyng be lyke thy pylgrimage,
And specially let thys be thy prayer
Unto hem all, that the wyll rede or here,
Where thou art wronge after her helpe to cal
The to correcte in any parte or al.

CORONATION
OF THEIR MAJESTIES
King George the Third
AND
Queen Charlotte.

GEORGE III. succeeded his royal grandfather on the 25th of October 1760, and was married to her serene highness the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz on the 8th of September 1761. His coronation (which had been deferred till the arrival of the intended queen) took place on Tuesday the 22nd of the same month ; the ceremony was performed by Dr Secker archbishop of Canterbury.

In the morning of the appointed day their majesties came privately to their respective apartments in the Palace of Westminster ; the peers assembling in their own house, the peeresses and the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain in the Painted Chamber, and the rest in the Court of Requests.

The ceremonial is described as follows :

About eleven o'clock the procession was drawn out

into Wesminster hall, which was soon after followed by their majesties, who seated themselves in the chairs of state under their canopies.

Then the swords and spurs were presented and laid upon the table, with the regalia brought up in procession by the dean and prebendaries of Westminster ; which, being severally presented and laid upon the table, were afterwards delivered by the lord great chamberlain to the lords appointed to carry them, being summoned by Garter ; as also the bishops appointed to support their majesties, and those who were to carry the bible, the chalice, and paten.

The procession then went on in the usual order.

About half an hour after one, their majesties entered the abbey, and went to their seats on the east side of the throne. The archbishop of Canterbury made the recognition, and then their majesties made their first oblation, and took their seats on the south side of the altar. Then the Litany began ; during which the regalia were severally presented at the altar, and the great officers retired to their seats.

1157 T The Litany being ended, and part of the Communion Service read by the archbishop, Dr Drummond, bishop of Salisbury, preached the sermon ; which being ended, his majesty made the usual declaration, and took and subscribed the coronation oath.

After *Veni Creator*, his majesty removed to St Edward's chair ; and the unction was performed by

the archbishop; four knights of the Garter holding a pall over his majesty during the anointing, viz. the duke of Devonshire, earl of Northumberland, earl of Hertford, and earl Waldegrave. The spurs were then presented, and his majesty girt with the sword, which was afterwards offered and redeemed.

His majesty was then invested with the armil, the purple robe or imperial pall, and orb, and afterwards receiving the ring, returned the orb to the altar.

The marquis of Rockingham, deputy to the duke of Norfolk as lord of the manor of Worksop, presented a right-hand glove to his majesty, who, putting it on, received from the archbishop the sceptre with the cross, and afterwards the sceptre with the dove, in his left hand; and the marquis afterwards supported his majesty's right hand, as occasion required.

The archbishop then set the crown upon his majesty's head, about half an hour after three o'clock, amidst the acclamations of an infinite number of spectators; upon which the peers put on their coronets, the dukes of Normandy and Aquitain their hats; the bishops, knights of the Bath, and judges their caps; and the kings of arms their crowns.

Then the archbishop presented the bible, and pronounced the benediction; and his majesty kissed the bishops kneeling before him.

Whilst *Te Deum* was singing, his majesty was in-

throned; whereupon the bishops performed their homage, and then the temporal lords; first his royal highness the duke of York and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, each for himself. Then the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain, pronounced the words of the homage for all the dukes: the marquis of Rockingham for the marquisses; earl Talbot, lord high steward, for the earls; viscount Say and Sele for the viscounts; and lord Henley, lord high chancellor, for the barons: every peer likewise, taking off his coronet, touched the king's crown, and kissed his left cheek.

During the homage, his majesty delivered the sceptre with the cross to the marquis of Rockingham, (officiating as lord of the manor of Worksop) to hold.

In the mean time, medals of his majesty and the queen were thrown about by the treasurer of the household.

The coronation of his majesty being finished, the queen removed from her seat on the south side of the area to a chair placed before the altar, and was anointed, (four ladies holding a pall over her majesty) and afterward invested with the ring, and crowned by the archbishop: upon which the peeresses put on their coronets. The archbishop then delivered the sceptre into her right hand, and the ivory rod into her left hand.

Their majesties then made their second oblation,

and received the communion ; and the final prayers being read, they retired into St Andrew's chapel, where they were invested with their royal robes and crowns of state.

A procession was then made back to Westminster hall in the same order as before, except the regalia, prebends, and choirs, which did not return, and the marquis of Rockingham, who attended his majesty to support his right arm.

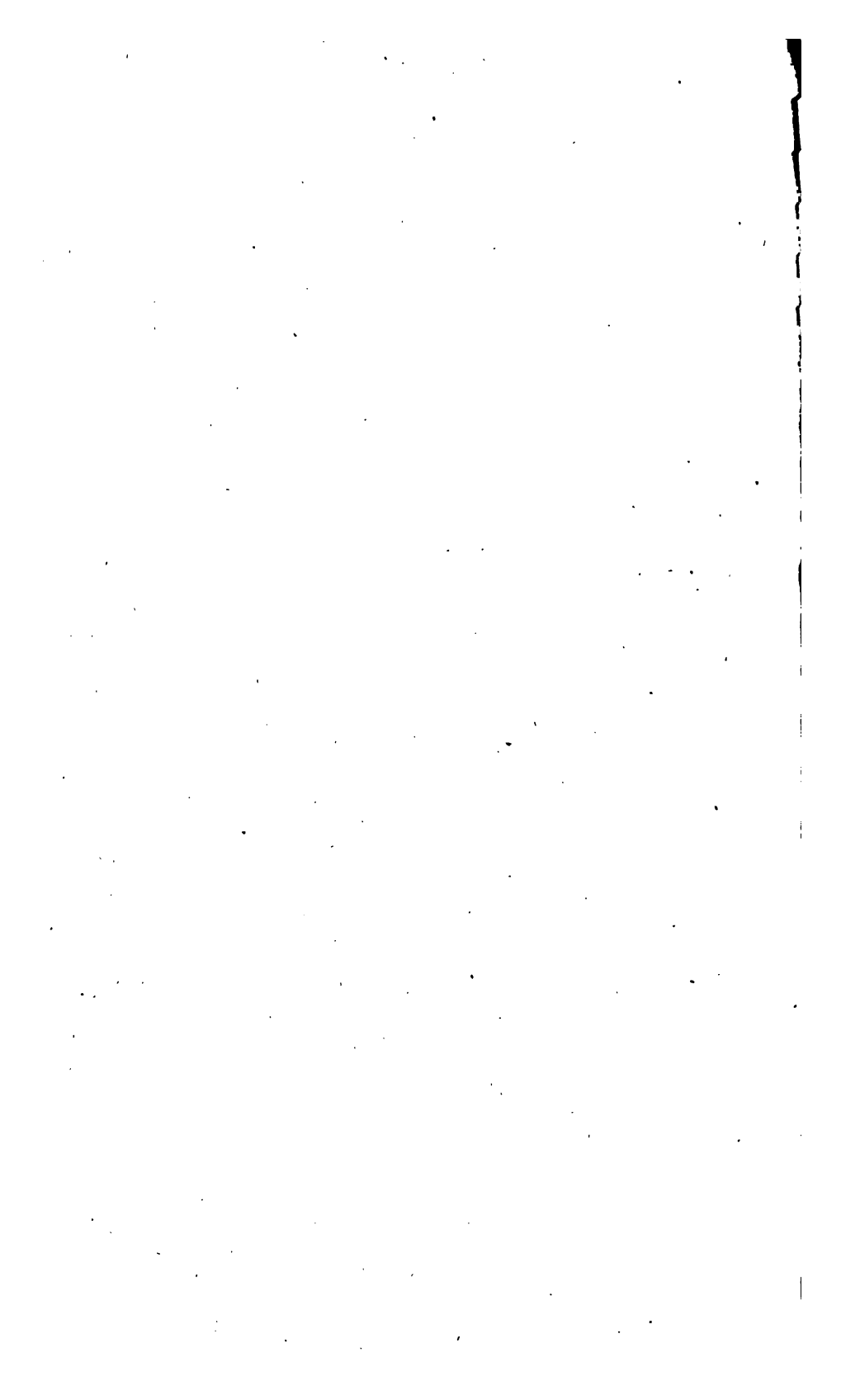
Their majesties retired into the court of Wards till dinner was ready ; and then sitting in their chairs of state, the first course was brought up with the usual ceremony, his royal highness the duke of York and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland sitting at the end of the table, on his majesty's right hand, and her royal highness the princess Augusta, at the other end of the table, on the queen's left hand. Before the second course, the champion was brought up between the high constable and earl marshal, followed by four pages, and preceded by the herald who pronounced the challenge, the champion's two esquires with his lance and target, two sergeants at arms, and the trumpets ; the knight marshal going before to clear the passage.

Immediately after the return of the champion, Garter king of arms, attended by the rest of the heralds, proclaimed his majesty's style in Latin, French, and English, three several times ; first, upon the top of

the steps near the table ; next, in the middle of the hall ; and, lastly, at the bottem of the hall.

The second course was then served up in the same order as the first. The several services which had been allowed by the court of claims were performed ; and his majesty was pleased, after dinner, to confer the honour of knighthood upon John Bridge, esquire, standard-bearer, and Owen Jones, esquire, senior gentleman of the band of gentlemen pensioners, and Charles Townley, esquire, Clarencieux king of arms.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.



ADDITIONAL NOTES.

P. 31.—*Elevation of Kings.*

THE existence of a custom of stone-elevation in the German empire having been too slightly noticed in the text, I shall here set down some particulars relating to the monument once devoted to it, and subjoin an account of some other curious observances which appear to be connected with the subject.

The German Königstul is situated between Rens and Capel, and near Coblentz, upon the Rhine. It is described as follows:—"C'estoit un bastiment fait, dans un verger, sous sept gros noyers, où il y avoit des sièges de pierre de taille pour l'Empereur et pour les sept Electeurs, bastis sur des piliers entreliés par autant de voûtes¹." In this place it was usual for the emperor elect to confirm the rights of the electors; but our author adds that the building being entirely ruined this confirmation is now performed at the place of election.

It is decided by lawyers, says another writer, that though

¹ *Discours Historique de l'Election de l'Empereur*, 4to. 1638, p. 487.

the emperor should not have been consecrated by any prelate, his election alone would give him all his authority; and this was formerly declared and confirmed by placing him on the *Kunig-stul* when he was enthroned as emperor in the sight of all the states of the empire. But this monument being destroyed by time, the electors enthroned the new elect by placing him on the altar of the church where they hold the electoral conclave².

The following notice of the *Königstul* occurs in the coronation of Maximilian I., and proves that so late as 1486 it was still made use of. "30 die Martii de mane missa finita in ecclesia Pinguensi (Bingen on the Rhine), Imperialis Majestas cum filio suo Rom. rege Maximiliano intraverunt naves, descendentes aquam. Ipsius venientibus in civitatem Remis (Reinse) erat ibi dominus archiepiscopus Moguntinus et Albertus dux Saxonie cum duxerunt supra cathedram lapideam elevatam quæ vocatur sedes regis (*Königstul*) situata in campis extra muros civitatis Remensis prope Rhenum, supra quam sedebat rex Romano Imperio præstans juramentum³."

The king of HUNGARY, we are told, after the ceremony of his coronation is finisht, goes on horseback, clad in the royal habit, and with the crown on his head, to a column covered with cloth of gold, where he takes the oath to his people and receives their allegiance. There is then brought to him another horse, trained to leap a bank of earth, which

² *Memoires Instructifs sur la Vacance du Trone Imperial*, p. 288.

³ *Freherus, Rer. Germ. Script.* tom. iii. p. 30.

he mounts and leaps three times over a hillock prepared for that purpose. The king then raises his drawn sword in form of a cross above the multitude, and returns in state to his castle⁴.

The following singular customs are said to have been used at the inauguration of the antient dukes of CARINTHIA. Near the city of Saint Veit is a plain where the vestiges of a former town are still to be seen, and in a meadow just by, a large stone raised about two cubits from the ground. On this stone was placed a peasant, who enjoyed by descent the right of presiding at the inauguration of the dukes, having near him, on his right hand a black cow with a calf, and on his left a lean and hungry mare; the people of St. Veit and a crowd of peasants being assembled around him. The duke, in a countryman's bonnet and shoes, with a shepherd's crook in his hand, drew near to the assembly, accompanied by the senators clad in scarlet, and the great officers bearing their insignia. The man upon the stone seeing the train come nigh cried out Who is this that comes with such magnificence? The people answered It is the prince of the country. Is he a just judge? replied the peasant: doth he seek the welfare of the state? is he of free condition, worthy of honour, obedient to the laws, and a defender of the Christian religion? They cried, He is and he will be such. The peasant then demanded by what right he would remove him from his seat: to which the master of the duke's court answered This place is bought

⁴ *Histoire des Inaugurations*, p. 35. *Estats du Monde*, p. 738.

for 50 deniers; these beasts are thine, (pointing to the cow and the mare) thou shalt be clothed in the garments which the duke will take off, and thy house shall be free, and exempt from tribute. The peasant then came down from the stone, gave the duke a gentle slap on the cheek, and exhorting him to be a good judge, went away with his cattle. The prince then took his place on the stone, brandished his naked sword, turning to every side, and promised to judge the people with equity. A peasant's cap was then presented filled with water, from which he was obliged to drink as a mark of his future sobriety. He was then conducted to the church, where he assisted at divine service, and changed the peasant's dress for the ducal habit. After the feast which followed, he returned to the meadow, in which a throne had been set up, and here he gave judgment and conferred fiefs⁵.

In some places we find that this exhibition of the prince was performed not on a stone but on a *tumulus* or hillock of earth; "*Peragebatur hoc non in solio, ut recentiore ætate alibi, sed in tumulo, qualis adhuc tempore Hadriani Junii in Kennemaria inter Harlemum et Alcmariam exstabat: 'illud vero memoratu dignum est,' inquit, 'non procul Heemskerka tumulum acclivem nisi in omnes æqualiter partes editiorem; in ipso ferme soli medietullio situm, in quo retroactis seculis soliti sunt Hollandiæ comites, ut Kinheimariæ domini, in frequenti popularium et nobilitatis conventu inaugurari ditioni illi, ac mutuo sacramento*

⁵ *Histoire des Inaugurations*, p. 48.—Heylin's *Cosmography*, 4to. p. 296. The older authorities are Munster and Æneas Sylvius.

habuit cum principum tum nobiles cum vulgo.—*Quod ad materiam nostram—putem, generalem et consuetum hunc fuisse inaugurandi ritum Belgis*⁶.”

Perhaps the point in our English ceremony which is most analogous to the Gothic and German elevations is that of our kings being antiently placed upon a seat in Westminster hall, which was thence denominated The KING'S BENCH. This antient seat, which occupied the upper end of the great hall, was appropriated to the administration of justice by the sovereign in person, or by the judges of his court, to which it gave the title of the Court of King's Bench.

We find that the seat or bench here referred to is spoken of in old authorities as a *marble* seat; and that there stood before it a marble table. That this marble seat was the place of the chancellor as well as of the justices of the bench; and that here our kings were used to sit before their progress to coronation.

“At the upper end of this hall,” saith Stow, “is a long marble stone of twelve feet in length and three feet in breadth. And there also is a marble chair where the kings of England formerly sate at their coronation dinners, and, at other solemn times, the lord chancellor: but now not to be seen, being built over by the two courts of Chancery and King's Bench⁷.”

Dugdale.—“The place where the lord chancellor an-

⁶ Thye Hannes De Inaug. Princ. Belg. p. 34.

⁷ Survey of London.

ciently safe and held this court was at the upper end of Westminster hall, at that long marble table which is there situate (though now covered with the courts there erected) whereunto are five or six steps of ascent. For in 36 Ed. III. when Simon Langham was made lord chancellor he placed himself in the marble chair, wherein the chancellors used to sit and sealed patents, which marble chair to this day remaineth, being fixt in the wall there overagainst the middle of that marble table⁸."

The following are instances of kings being said to sit in the marble chair. Henry VII. was to come "by vj. of the clock" (in the morning of his coronation) "from his chamber into Westminster hall, where he shall sitt, under clothe of estate in the marble chaire, appareilled with clothes and quishshins of clothe of golde bawdekyn, as it apperteigneth⁹." Richard III., say Speed and Stow, upon the 25th of June went in great pomp unto Westminster hall, and there in the King's Bench court took his seat: the Chronicle of Croyland, cited by Buck, in recording the same

⁸ *Origines Juridicales*, p. 37.

⁹ *Little Devise*, &c. Ives, p. 100.

¹⁰ *Claus. 1 R. II.* Rymer, vol. vii. p. 157. A further illustration of this subject may be borrowed from the *Liber Regalis*, which is of the reign last noticed. It contains this passage:—"Die vero præfinito, quo novus rex consecrandus est, summo mane convenient prælati et nobiles regni in palatio regio apud Westmonastorium, tractaturi de novi regis consecratione et electione, et de legibus et consuetudinibus confirmandis firmiter statuendis. Hiis sub universorum concordia peractis, provideatur quod in aula regia majori sedes eminens sit pannis sericis et inauratis decenter ornata, supra quam dictus rex regnaturus cum omni mansuetudinis et reverentia elevetur."

A remarkable kind of coincidence in the passage quoted above reminds me of a very ancient practice in Sweden, which will be best explained by reference to some of the writers of that country. "Mos

occurrence, says that "*se apud magnam aulam Westmonasterii in cathedram marmoream immisit.*" Grafton informs us that the same king on the day of his coronation "came downe out of the white hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directly to the *King's Benche.*" We are told by Hall that Katherine, queen of Henry V. after her coronation, was "conveighed into Westminster hal and ther set in the throne at the table of marble at the upper end of the hal." Richard II. arriving at the palace in procession from the Tower, entered the hall, and "*ad altam mensam marmoream in eadem aula accedens, petiit vinum,*" &c. On the morrow he also came to this high table and sat in the royal seat¹⁰. To what hath been said above of the present state of the King's Bench it is only necessary to add, that the boarded inclosures which now surround and divide the two courts are removed at every coronation.

As the alterations which have taken place in Westminster hall since the time of our great ceremonialists Ash-

autem erat, ut in Vitâ Ingialldi Illrada Sveoniæ Regis memorat Snorro, electum regem in infimo scamno considerare, donec illatum fuisset poculum Bragebikare, aureum scilicet cornu hydromeli repletum: quod manibus exceptum surgens, conceptis de egregio suo regimine futuro votis, exhauriebat. Inde ad sedem regiam Kongs hæseti deducebatur; et sic auspicato regnum inivisse censebatur."—"Bragar heroes dicuntur,—Bragebikare ergo poculum erat quod in memoriam heroum exhauriebatur, quorum similem se futurum profitebatur regium solium consensurus."—Verelius, *Notæ in Hist. Gotrici et Hrolfi*, cap. 16. p. 83. So also Törner, *Diss. de Mora-Steen*, p. 7. "*Istud in aula regia Upsalensi celebratum est in præsentia procerum primatumque regni;—ipse vero rex futurus considebat ante mensam in gradu, ex quo paulo post humeris civium levatus, solio supra mensam collocato imponebatur. Exhausto igitur scypho, cellaque regia occupata, rex ab omnibus salutabatur.*"

mole and Sandford may render it difficult to understand their accounts of the entry of the classes from the places of their assembling, I take this opportunity of reminding the reader that the former entrance to the great hall from the Court of Requests, or present House of Lords, was not, as now, at the end of the hall, between the courts of King's Bench and Chancery, but on the east side, and just below the steps going up to those courts: also, that the passage of the queen from the Court of Wards was by a door at the end of the hall in the south-west corner. This may be plainly seen by reference to the ground plan in Mr Sandford's History.

P. 50, 232.—*Coronation of Queens.*

A SINGULAR mistake hath arisen on the subject of the coronation of the Saxon Queens from the circumstances connected with the histories of Judith and Eadburga. After alluding to the wretched fortunes of the latter, Sir John Spelman, in his *Life of Alfred*, (p. 24) observes that "Hence grew it to be a custom among the West Saxons that the wives of their kings were NEITHER CROWNED NOR stiled queens, nor had any other title than only THE KING'S WIFE;¹ given them. But Æthelwolf, detesting that custom of his country as altogether barbarous, having married a daughter of France, omitted not, it seems, to honour her with all the dues of right belonging to a queen. And this understood at home gave there occasion to a great conspiracy against him."

The inference to be drawn from this passage must be, that the coronation of queens was, at the time when this custom is said to have originated, an established practice of the country: upon comparison of dates, however, we shall find that no instance of the use of this ceremony is recorded till after the period here assigned for its abolition: and consequently that Sir John has made the practice be discontinued before it ever existed. The death of king Brightic from the poison prepared by his queen took place in the year 800, and the consecration of Egferth, the earliest of a king that our history affords, and probably also

¹ "cýnungeſ gemæcca,"—Hearne's Note in *loc.*

the earliest ever performed in England, was in 785; there can be no ground therefore for the assertion that it "Grew to be a custom" that queens should *not* be crowned: indeed upon reference to the accounts which early historians give of this matter, we shall find that no allusion is made to coronation; and that the deprivation extended only to the title, and the right of sitting on the seat of state.

Enough would perhaps have been said for the correction of this verbal inaccuracy of Sir John Spelman, did it not appear to be further sanctioned by the authority of Mr Turner in his excellent History of the Anglo-Saxons². The learned author, assuming probably from such expressions as those we have quoted, that coronation was one amongst the privileges at this time withheld from the West Saxon queens, begins his chapter on the family and officers of the king with this assertion: "The Anglo-Saxon queen was CROWNED as well as the king until the reign of Egbert, when this honour was taken from her. The crimes of the preceding queen, Eadburga, occasioned the Anglo-Saxons to depart awhile in this respect from the custom of all the German nations. But it was soon restored; for Ethelwulph, on his second marriage, suffered his queen Judith to be crowned." He adds, "the custom was not immediately resumed in England, because the expressions of Asser imply that in Alfred's time the disuse of the coronation continued. But by the time of the second Ethelred it was restored, for after the account of his coronation the ceremonial of her coronation follows." The reader will bear in mind that

² I may now add also of Mr Sergeant Heywood, in his work on the Distinction of Ranks among the Anglo-Saxons.

the object of the present note is merely to examine into the antiquity of coronation as applied to Queens; it has no connection with the other particulars respecting their title and place in the court. Referring then to Mr Turner's authority Asser, we find, as I have before intimated, no allusion whatever to coronation. His words are "*Gens namque Occidentalium Saxonum reginam juxta regem sedere non patitur, nec etiam reginam appellare, sed regis conjugem, permittit.*" And again, "*accolæ illius terræ conjuraverunt ut nullum unquam regem super se in vitâ suâ regnare permitterent qui reginam in reginali solio juxta se sedere imperare vellet*³." The former of these passages is copied by Florence of Worcester, *verbatim*. Matthew of Westminster has the following, of Æthelwulph: "*Præterea, audierunt conspiratores prædicti quod, contra morem et statuta regum West-Saxonum, Judetham, &c. reginam appellabat, et in mensa ad latus suum convivari faciebat. Gens vero West-Saxonum non permittit reginam juxta regem sedere; nec etiam reginam, sed regis conjugem nominari*⁴." Malmsbury writes to the same effect. It is probable that Spelman's authority (although his editor does not supply the reference) was Higden: "*ab eo tempore,*" saith he, "*inolevit apud Anglos uxorem regis neque reginam vocari neque in regis sede juxta regem collocari*⁵:" here, however, we have nothing of coronation. Selden, whose section on the titles and honours of queens is largely quoted by the editor of Alfred's life,

³ Asser, 8vo. 1722. p. 10.

⁴ *Fl. Hist.* sub an. 854.

⁵ *Polychron.* an. 787.

says, "It appears clearly that the Saxon queens were in the later times of that kingdom crowned, anointed, and set with the kings in their seats of state, as other queens, and so that law or custom which proceeded from queen Æthelburgh was soon abrogated⁶:" there is nothing however in the passage which sanctions the error we have noticed. Milton writes "The West Saxon had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen should sit in state with the king or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith his queen should loose any point of regal state by that law⁷." The accounts of Strutt and of Rapin are the same with those of Milton and the antients.

With regard to the real period when the inaugurative ceremonies were applied to the consorts of our kings we have nothing more determinate than the "later times" of Mr Selden, but certainly they had no coronations in 955 if Elgiva were really the wife of Edwy: nor is it likely that the bard who recorded the hallowing of Edgar in 973 would have omitted to notice the honours paid to the royal consort had she partaken of the sacred unction. With the ritual assigned to the age of Æthelred II. begins our actual knowledge of feminine consecration: he was elected in 978, and all before this period is at best uncertain.

⁶ *Titles of Honor*, Part I. cap. 6. vii.

⁷ *Hist. of England*, p. 197, 4to.

P. 94.—*History of the Regalia.*

IN order to illustrate the history of our antient Regalia I shall here transcribe the several lists which were referred to in treating on this subject: and first one of the reign of James I.

“NECESSARIES to be provided by the M^r of the Jewell House the daye of the king and queen’s coronacion^r.

“A circle of gold for the queen to weare when shee goeth to her coronacōn.

“The king’s ringe. The queene’s ringe.

“St Edward’s crowne, if it be in his custodye.

“Two other wearing crownes for the king and queen, to be sett readye vpon St Edward’s altar, for the king and queen to put on after theire coronacōn.

“Two pointed swords.

“The sworde called Curtana.

“The orbe, the scepter, the armill.

“And suche other regalls as hee hath in his custodye.

“Theis are all the particular necessities which for the present I fynd to be provided by the M^r of the Jewellhouse.

“Willm. Segar, Garter^r.”

The following are extracts of such articles as relate to the Regalia, from the general inventories of appraisement

¹ MS. Cott. Vesp. O xiv. p. 121.

² Sir William Segar appears to have been created Garter in 1603, the year in which James I. was crowned.

which comprise the whole of the royal plate and jewels as taken by order of the parliament on the deposition of Charles I.

"A TRUE and perfect Inventory of all the Plate and Jewells now being in the upper Jewell House of the Tower, in the charge of Sir Henry Mildmay, together with an Appraisement of them made and taken the 13th, 14th, and 15th daies of August, 1649³."

"The imperiall crowne of massy gold, weighing 7 lb 6 ounces," &c. valued at . . . £1110 0 0

"The queene's crowne of massy gold, weighing 3 lb 10 ounces," &c. 338 3 4

"A small crowne⁴ found in an iron chest, formerly in the lord Cottington's charge," &c. the gold 73 16 8

"The diamonds, rubies, sapphires, &c. 355 0 0

"The globe, weighing 1 lb 5¼ oz. . . . 57 10 0

"2 coronation bracelets weighing 7 oz." (with three rubies and twelve pearls) 36 0 0

"Two scepters, weighing 18 oz." . . . 60 0 0

"A long rodd of silver gilt, 1 lb 5 oz. . . . 4 10 8

"The foremencion'd crownes, since y^e inventorie was taken, are accordinge to ord^r of parlam^t totallie broken and defaced."

³ *Archæologia*, vol. xv. art. 24, p. 285, from the original manuscript.

⁴ From other accounts this appears to have been the crown of Edward VI. See *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 79, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1798, p. 470.

⁵ There is every reason to believe that the national ornaments here described were the genuine productions of a very early age. Their correspondence with the antient catalogue in Sporley's Book is so remarkable that I shall notice it in some of the subsequent items. The catalogue will be found entire in our Appendix.

"THE Inventory of that part of the Regalia which are now removed from West^r to the Tower Jewel House^s."

"Queene Edith's crowne, formerly thought to be of massy gould, but upon triall found to be of silver gilt, enriched with garnetts, foule pearle, sapphires, and some odd stones⁶, p. oz. 50½ ounces, valued at . . . £ 16 0 0

"King Alfred's crowne, of gould wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells⁷, p. oz. 79½ oz. at £ 3 p. ounce . . . 248 10 0

"A gould plate dish, enamelled, &c. . . 77 11 0

"One large glass cupp wrought in figures, &c. 102 15 0

"A dove of gould, sett with stones and pearle, p. oz. 8½ ounces, in a box sett with studds of silver gilt . 26 0 0

"The gould and stones belonging to a collar of crimson taffaty, &c. . . 18 15 0

"One staff of black and white ivory, with a dove on the top, with binding and foote of gould⁸ . . 4 10 0

"A large staff with a dove on y^e top, formerly thought to be all gould, but upon triall found to be the lower part wood within and silver gilt without⁹, weighing in all 27 ounces, valued at . . . 35 0 0

"One small staff with a floure de luce on the topp, formerly thought to be all of gould, but upon triall found to be iron within and silver gilt without¹⁰. . 2 10 0

"Two scept^{rs}, one sett with pearles and stones, the upper end gould, the lower end silver¹¹. The other silvar gilt, with a dove, formerly thought gould¹² . . 65 16 10½

⁶ Doubtless the "*corona pro coronatione reginæ*" of Sporley. It does not appear that the Confessor's crown is included in this inventory.

⁷ See p. 94 of the present work.

⁸ One of the "*duas virgas pro coronatione reginæ*,"—Sporley.

⁹ "*Ligneam virgam deauratam*." ¹⁰ "*Alteram ferream*."—Sporley.

¹¹ "*Sceptum aurum*." ¹² The other "*virga pro cor. reginæ*."

"One silver spoone¹³, gilt, p. oz. 3 ounces £0 16 0.

"The gould of the tassels of the livor cull¹⁴ robe, weighing 4 oz. valued at £8. and the coat with the neck button of gould, £2. the robe having some pearle valued at £3. in all 13 0 0

"All these, according to order of parliam^t, are broken and defaced."

"One paire of silver gilt spurres," &c. 1 13 4

"An Inventory of the Regalia now in Westm^r abby, in an iron chest where they were formerly kept.

"One crimson taffaty robe, very old; val^d at . . . 10 0

"One robe, laced with gould lace, valued at . . . 10 0

"One livor cull¹⁴ silke robe, very old, and worth nothing.

"One robe of crimson taffaty sarcenett, val. at . . . 5 0

"One paire of buskins¹⁵, cloth of silver, and silver stockings, very old, and valued at 2 6

"One paire of shoes of cloth of gould, at . . . 2 0

"One paire of gloves¹⁶ embrod^d with gould, at . . . 1 0

"Three swords, with scabbards of cloth of gould 3 0 0

"One old combe of horne, worth nothing¹⁶. _____

"The totall of the Regalia . . . £612 17 8

¹³ "Cochleare."—Sporley. ¹⁴ "Par caligaram."—*ibid*.

¹⁵ "Par cerotecarum."—Sporley.

¹⁶ Then probably not the "*pectinem aureum*." But a comb was always included among the regalia: and in *A Brief out of the book called Liber Regalis*, (Prynne, *Sig. Loy.* p. 264) we read "The pray-ers being ended, a shallow quolfe is put on the king's head because of the annoynting: if his majesties haire be not smooth after it, there is King Edward's ivory combe for that end."

P. 135.—*King's Champion.*

It hath already been noticed that a record existed which carries back the history of the tenure of Scrivelsby to the 23d year of Edw. III.¹ There is however another document of the same reign, which although it is but little earlier in point of time, and only mentions the tenure incidentally, is yet of more importance to the subject than any that hath been quoted, inasmuch as it throws a light on the original complexion of the tenant's service which none of the later documents afford.

The record here mentioned is an *Inquisitio post mortem* bearing date in the 7th of Edw. III.² and it speaks of the tenure as follows: That the manour of Scrivelsby is holden by grand sergeanty, to wit by the service of finding, on the day of coronation, an armed knight, who shall prove by his body, if need be, that the king is true and rightful heir to the kingdom. No mention is made in it of any thing in the nature of an hereditary office³; and the condition of the tenure is stated in terms which are common to many of our antient sergeancies, the possessors of which had the care of finding a knight—*inveniendi militem*—to

¹ See Note 86 in page 138. It is a writ of seisin for the manor of Scrivelsby directed to the escheator of Lincoln.

² See Appendix to Book III. No. 2.

³ In a charter of Hen. I. quoted in the *Monasticon* (tom. ii. p. 973), one of the witnesses subscribes himself as *Robertus de Bajocis, Campio Regis*; no connection, however, can be traced between this antient baron and the subsequent lords of Scrivelsby.

perform some particular service. In its first institution, then, the duty of the lord of Scrivelsby had this extent, no more: the performance of such a duty, however, had too much of honour attached to it to allow of its devolving on a deputy; and the obligation of providing a champion for the royal title, IN CASE OF NEED, became a right of appearing as its personal assertor on every new succession.

Nor is this the only ground for such an understanding of the tenure before us. From other records⁴ we find that the horse and armour, which are the customary perquisites of the service, were only to be claimed as of right in case a combat ensued; when this did not take place it was at the king's pleasure whether they became the claimant's property.

The above particulars are stated with a view to account for the existence of the noble service of the king's champion as we now find it—certainly with no intention of detracting from the honour and respect which are so justly its due; and before we leave the records above referred to, I would mention, for its further illustration, a difference between the antient and the modern mode of performing it. The champion was antiently used to ride in the procession as well as in the hall, and to proclaim his challenge "*devant tout le monde*" in both places: the former

⁴ See extracts from the Coronation Rolls of Richard II. and Henry IV. in the Appendix.

⁵ Sir William Segar informs us (*Honour Militarie and Civil*, p. 181) that at the coronation of Henry IV. the challenge was proclaimed in the palace and in six places of the city. It also appears from some

ceremony hath long been discontinued⁵. This may also remind us of a remarkable circumstance which occurred at the coronation of Richard II. recorded by Walsingham. Sir John Dimmock, being armed according to usual custom, came with his attendants to the door of the church when the service was concluding; but the lord Marshal came to him and said that he should not have appeared so soon, "*sed quodd usque ad prandium regis differret adventum suum: quapropter monuit ut rediret, et, deposito tanto onere armorum, quiesceret ad illud tempus.*" The champion complied with this admonition and retired;—the cause of his seeming irregularity is explained by the circumstances above described.

And here I might have closed the remarks which later research hath enabled me to make on this interesting subject, had not circumstances lately occurred which appear to involve the very existence of this antient service, and to preclude the possibility of its being again repeated. The reader need not be informed that an act hath passed the legislature⁶ for the abolition of trial by battle in all cases criminal or civil: now without inquiring whether the procedure before us partakes more of the quality of an appeal of treason or of a writ of right, yet as the mode of conducting it is undoubtedly a *wager of battle*⁷, must we

⁵ reports of the challenge that it was originally adapted to delivery before the coronation: thus in Edward VI. according to the *Lo Neve MS.* the words are "that our sovereign, &c. is not the rightfull and undoubted heir, &c. and that of right he ought not to be crowned king."—*Jeland's Collect.* vol. iv. p. 310.

⁶ 59 Geo. III. cap. 46.

⁷ So entirely is it treated as such in the records, that we find the

not, however reluctantly, conclude that the service of the king's champion is become extinct, no exception of any kind having been made in the recent enactment?

very phrases of law which are commonly used in cases of appeal, &c. employed in describing the champion's challenge. Thus, in an appeal against Hamon le Stare, *temp.* Hen. III. the appellant "*offert DISRATIONARE per corpus suum sicut curia consideraverit,*" &c. In the *Claus Roll* 1 Ric. II. and in others of later date, the champion "*est prest par son corps A DARRERIERE maintenant qil ment come faus et come trefre,*" &c. Some add "*a quel jour et lieu que lui seront par ses jugges assignez.*" At the coronation of Henry IV. according to Fabian, the herald proclaimed that if any man would gainsay the king's title the champion was there "*redy to waen with hym BATAYLE.*" Further conformity is noticed in p. 282.

P. 162.—*Letter of Summons.*

As the reader may be curious to see the antient form of a Summons to Coronation, I shall present, in the Appendix, that issued by Edward II. which is said to be the earliest on record. The degree of likeness in it to the modern form will be seen by comparison; it is important also to observe the resemblance which it bears to an ordinary *parliamentary* summons of the same age. This resemblance is indeed complete, except that after the words "*Vobis mandamus*" there is added in the parliamentary writ to bishops the clause "*ex fide et dilectione quibus* (or *in fide quâ*) *nobis tenemini*," and in that to lay peers "*in fide et homagio*," &c.¹

Of the writs in the Appendix, that entitled "*De Rege Coronando*"² was issued before the king's marriage, and does not mention the ladies of peers; but in that "*De coronatione Regis et Reginae celebranda*"³ written from Dover on his return from France, and after his marriage, the attendance of the ladies is required. The writ *Ad Vicecomites*⁴ is a valuable relique; it shows the importance which was attached to the ceremony of coronation, and demonstrates the right which the people enjoyed of old time to be present at the performance of it, by "knights, citizens, and burgesses" the representatives of their several orders.

¹ See Dugdale's *Perfect Copy of Summons* in this and other reigns.

² See Appendix to Book III. No. 6.

³ *Ibid.* No. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 7.

"The election of a king," saith Mr. Bacon, and the solemnization of such election by coronation, are spiritlesse motions without the presence of the people:" we here perceive how the people were legally and formally assembled ⁵.

⁵ *Hist. Disc. on the Gov. of England*, part II. Preface. "It was usual," saith Mr. Petyt, "at the coronations of our English kings to confirm, make, and ordain laws."—*Antient Right of the Commons*, Preface p. 62. Selden takes notice that "at the coronation of Hen. I. *clerus Angliæ et populus universus* were summoned to Westminster, where divers lawes were both made and declared."—*Tit. Hen.* part II. cap. 5, xx. Compare Stransky, *Resp. Boiem.* cap. v. § 14.

The above circumstances will perhaps afford some authority for an opinion hazarded in the note on p. 20.

P. 182.—*Recognition.*

It hath been stated in the former part of this work that the ceremony of coronation is also a ceremony of national election. It may be affirmed with confidence that in the earliest times it was such in the fullest sense that is compatible with descent in a single family¹; yet in order to account for the changes which have taken place in the formulary itself, and to explain the name under which this part of it now appears, it is necessary to add that when the feudal system of tenure and polity had arrived at perfection, another practice, unknown to former ages, was engrafted upon that of election, the character of which it materially altered, and the power of which it eventually destroyed.

Recognition is properly the acknowledgement of the heir to a feudal seignory, and of the legality of his claim to the inheritance. It is the act of the immediate vassals of the seignory, regulated by the known laws of succession. And were the kingdom merely to be regarded as a patrimonial estate this would be the only form necessary to give possession to the heir; but we learn from the most authentic records of feudal discipline no less than from the constant practice of feudal states², that where the character and office of SOVEREIGN was united to the rank and dignity of SEIGNIOR, it was not enough for the prince to receive the

¹ See the Anglo-Saxon ceremonial referred to in the text, and printed in the Appendix.

² See especially the *Assises of Jerusalem*, cap. 288.

recognition of his chief tenants without at the same time obtaining the consent and approbation of his people³. Still as the former, from the weight and influence of those engaged in it, became the leading and prominent act, and the latter but a concurrent one, we shall not have occasion to wonder if in the name and practice of *Recognition* the more antient right of *Election* be forgotten or obscured.

The natural tendency of a practice such as that we have described would necessarily be in favour of what is termed hereditary right, or rather, of a right independent of choice or control;—we must not, however, conclude that a feudal recognition was a blind unconditional service, or that it was never withheld when the public safety required. The succession of our Norman kings will suggest the grounds of a different opinion; and proofs of a more explicit nature may be drawn from the history of other states⁴. In one point of view, however, it was more particularly favourable to the direct transmission of inheritance; it was not an uncommon thing for the prince in possession, in the anticipation of his decease, to obtain the recognition of his vassals in favour of his son. Such a measure, while it proves

³ The reader is referred for a fuller examination of this subject to the learned and ingenious *Recherches sur l'Origine et la Nature des Inaugurations des Princes Souverains des Pays Bas*, par M. Raepsaet. See also J. A. Van Thye Hannes *De Inauguratione Principum Belgarum*, p. 45, &c.

⁴ “Le continuateur d'Edmond dit, en parlant de l'abandon ou délaissement fait de la seigneurie du Gâtinois au roi Philippe I. par Fouques Rockin, comte d'Anjou, que ce prince en jura les coutumes, et que les barons ne voulurent le reconnoître qu'à celle condition.”—Boulainvilliers, *Lettres Histor.* p. 311.

how slight a reliance was then placed on abstract natural right, was a powerful means of transmitting an acquired one. A few instances of this prospective recognition will serve to illustrate the use of the term. Louis VIII. of France shortly before his death exacted a promise from some of his nobles, which is called "*Serment que le roy fit faire aux prelatz, &c. de reconnoistre son fils aîné, luy prester la foy et hommage, le faire couronner au plus tost, et assister personnellement à son sacre*⁵." In the celebrated declaration of the Scottish parliament in favour of John the son of Robert II. it is said that "*unusquisque recognovit et voluit quod idem Johannes sit futurus rex*⁶." A similar act was framed for the succession of prince Edward son of Edward IV. and was past in the 11th year of his reign "*in camera parliamenti*." The lords and others here "*fecerunt recognitionem, juramentumque præstiterunt, Edwardo primogenito regis, &c.*"⁷ We find also, under certain circumstances, a king recognising his own successor:—" *Rex Stephanus, omni hærede viduatus, præter adummodo ducem Henricum, recognovit in conventu episcoporum et aliorum de regno optimatum, quod dux Henricus jus hæreditarium in regnum Angliæ habebat*⁸."

The authorities above quoted and referred to will per-

⁵ Dupuy, *Traité de la Majorité*, p. 129.

⁶ A splendid fac-simile engraving of this act is given in the *Reports on the Public Records*. See also Brady, *Introd.* p. 405-6.

⁷ *Rot. Claus.* 11 Edw. IV. Prynne's *Writs*, i. 198. It is remarkable that in each of the last-mentioned cases the legitimacy of the descent hath remained a subject of dispute to the present time, and in neither did the recognised heir succeed to the throne.

⁸ *M. Westmin.* f. 246.

haps sufficiently explain the true nature of recognition, and its distinctness from election. It is, however, of importance to be observed that in none of our rituals or accounts of coronations prior to that of JAMES II. by Sandford, does the term recognition ever occur as the title of the address spoken by the archbishop at the beginning of the service; nor am I aware that it is used to designate such an address in any of the foreign ceremonials. On examining the formula quoted in the text we shall find the difficulty arising from this circumstance not a little increased; for it begins by asserting that which it is the purpose of recognition to ascertain, and concludes by demanding that which, after recognition, could never have been denied, namely, homage, service, and bounden duty to a rightful lord. It appears also that the question was address not to the prelates and peers, who alone could make a recognition in its feudal sense, but to "the people," who, if it were such, could have no concern in it. From these circumstances it is clear that the act we are now considering is not originally a recognition in the legal and historical acceptation of the word, and that the title is therefore either misapplied by Mr. Sandford, or applied by him in a different sense.

Dismissing therefore any further research into the meaning of a term which at least is but recently connected with the act before us, we shall adopt the only course that is

⁹ *MS. Cott. Claud. A. iii.* It may be remarked in passing, that the prayer which follows both in this and the Saxon service, has the passage "*famulum tuum quem supplici devotione in regem ELIGIMUS,*" which in the later rituals is altered to "*in regem CONSECRAMUS,*"

likely to elucidate this remarkable part of the ceremonial, namely, a collation of the various forms of the address to be found in the early rituals: premising that in the coronation of CHARLES II. as described by our other principal authority, Ashmole, the form appears to have been the same as Sandford's, but without the title "Recognition," and that for the reign of CHARLES I. we have no precise report.

Beginning, then, with the first *Ordo* after the Saxon age, we find it thus in HENRY I. "*His expletis, unus episcoporum alloquatur populum si tali principi ac rectori se subdicere ac jussionibus ejus obtemperare velint. Tunc a circumstante clero et populo respondeatur Volumus et condimus*."

In the reign of RICHARD II. and afterward we have the following form:—" *Archiepiscopus ad quatuor partes pulpiti predicti accedens, exposuit et enarravit universo populo qualiter dictus dominus rex prestavit sacramentum, inquirens ab eodem populo si ipsi consentire vellent de habendo ipsum regem et dominum ligeum, et de obediendo ei tanquam regi et domino ligeo, qui utique unanimiter consenserunt*¹⁰." Another authority¹¹, perhaps of about the same age, gives us these words:—" *Archiepiscopus in die coronationis in pulpito stans interrogabit publicè à populo si istum venerabilem principem, justum hæredem regni, acclamare, eligere, et ei se subdicere, et ejus jussionibus obtemperare voluerit. Tunc à circumstantibus clero et popu-*

¹⁰ MS. Cott. Tiber. E viii. and Rymer, *Claus. I Ric. II.*

¹¹ MS. Cott. Tiber. E viii. fol. 33. Prynne, *Signal Loyalty*, ii. p. 249. So also *Ord. Cor. Hen. VI.* MS. Cott. Nero C ix. p. 167. only for "*eligere*" reading "*eligere in regem.*"

lo, elevatis brachiis et manibus extensis, respondeatur Vellumus et concedimus, fiat, fiat, Amen!"

At the coronation of HENRY VI. the archbishop is reported to have "made a proclamacion on the iiij. quarters of the scaffolde, seyend in this wyse:—Sirs, heere comyth Henry, kyng Henryes sone the Vth, on whos sowle God have mercy, amen. He homblyth hym to God and to holy cherche, askyng the crowne of this reame by right and defence¹² of herytage; if ye hold y^e pays with hym say Ya, and hold up handes. And than all the people cryed with oon voyce Ye, ye¹³."

The following was the prescribed form in the reigns of HENRY VII. and HENRY VIII. "This done, the cardynall as archbisshop of Caunterbury, shewing the king to the people at the iiij. parties of the seid pulpyt, shall seye in this wyse. Sirs [1] here present Henry rightfull and undoubted enheritour by the lawes of God and man to the coroune and royall dignitie of Englande, with all things therunto annexed and apperteynyng; electe, chosen, and required by all the thre estatez of this lande to take uppon hym the seid coroune and royall dignitee. Wheruppon ye shall understande that this daye is prefixed and ap-
poynted by all the pyers of this lande for the consecration, enunction, and coronacion of the seid mooste excellent prince Henry. Woll ye serve at this tyme and geve your

¹² Descent?—This right of birth, says an able writer, "hath been often claimed, and often frustrated, but never denied, or so much as questioned." We have shown indeed at the very beginning of the work that this principle directed the course of succession from the earliest ages, and was compatible with the freest use of election.

¹³ MS. Cott. Nero C ix. p. 172.

wills and assents to the same consecration, enunciation, and coronation? Wherunto the people shall say with a grete voyce Ye, ye, ye; so be it: Kyng Henry, Kyng Henry¹⁴."

The recognition of EDWARD VI. is thus described: The archbishop, standing beside the king, did declare unto the people in all the aforesaid parts the king's majesty free election with the words following.—Sirs, here I present King Edward rightfull and undoubted inheritor by the lawes of God and man to the crown and royal dignity of this realme, wherupon yee shall understand that this day is prefixed and appointed by all the peers of this realme for his consecration, enunciation, and coronation, Will you serve at this time, and give your good wills and assent to the same consecration, enunciation, and coronation? Whereunto the people answered all in one voice, Yea, yea, yea, God save king Edward¹⁵."

In the Brief out of the *Liber Regalis*, said to have been used at the coronation of JAMES I. we have three forms of the address: the first of these is exactly the same as that in Sandford: the second is the same as that of Henry VIII. The third is as follows: "Will you take this worthy prince James, right heir of the realm, and have him to your king, and become subjects to him, and submit yourselves to his commandments? This while the king standing up turneth

¹⁴ *MS. Cott. Tiber. E. viii.* The following passage may be received as an historical confirmation of the text. "*Dumque ab archiepiscopo requisiti, principes, comites, barones, milites, proceres, et populus universus, si in unctionem istius principis consentirent, una voce et unanimitatis assensu responsa consensu præbuerunt.*"—Elmhurst in *Vita Henr. V.* cap. xi.

¹⁵ Leland's *Collect.* iv. p. 825.

himself to every of the four sides, as the archbishop is at every of them speaking to the people," &c.¹⁶

With the various inferences which have been drawn from a public act of state couched in such terms and attended with such circumstances as those before us we here can have no concern: our business is solely the illustration of CEREMONIES; and I trust that having been obliged by a careful examination of my subject to describe this as a ceremony of election I shall be justified in having collected the foregoing documents in support of such an opinion.

We have already exhibited some particulars of the elections or recognitions of foreign states in the third section of this work; with regard to the Empire, it may be observed that the right which was exercised by the electoral princes in the choice of the emperor was without doubt the right of feudal tenants in the recognition of their lord, and not that of subjects in the election of a sovereign: here then, the act of *recognition* hath taken the name of *election* (the reverse of what hath happened in England) the primitive election being still retained as a part of the inaugurative ceremony. The same observation would probably be found to apply to Poland.

The reader will see in the Appendix copies of the formulary of election, or recognition, used in the empire (at the coronation of Maximilian I.); and in the kingdom of Bohemia, according to Stransky;—to these he is referred for a further illustration of the present subject.

¹⁶ Prynn's *Signal Loyalty*, ii. p. 267.

P. 187.—*Coronation Oath.*

THE following is the oath of JAMES II. from Mr Sandford's History, collated with that of CHARLES I. and with one probably of the age of Elizabeth¹.

"Archb.—Sir, Will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England; the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and namely, the laws, customs and franchises granted to the clergy [and to the people]² by the glorious king St Edward your predecessor, according [and conformable]³ to the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeing⁴ to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the antient customs of this realm⁵?

King.—I grant and promise to keep them.

Archb.—Sir, Will you keep peace and godly agreement intirely, according to your power, ⁶ to' the holy church, the clergy⁶, and the people?

King.—I will keep it.

Archb.—Sir, Will you, to your power, cause law, justice⁷, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments?

King.—I will.

¹ From a Collection out of the *Liber Regalis*, in English, *MS. Harl.* 310.—Strutt's *Horda*, iii. p. 26. ² *MS. Harl.*

³ "agreeable," Ch. I. in Heylin, *Ex. Hist.* ii. 69.

⁴ "land," Ch. I.

⁵ Not in *MS. Harl.*

⁶ "both to God," C. I. and *MS. Harl.*

⁷ "justice, law," Ch. I.

Archb.—Sir, Will you grant to hold and keep the [laws and]⁸ rightful customs which the communalty of this your kingdom have; ⁹and will you' defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

King.—I grant and promise so to do."

I shall now endeavour to give some account of the history of the Coronation Oath, illustrated by copies of its various forms, in the language of different ages.

Our series begins with the oath of ÆTHELRED II. who was crowned in the year 978: this curious relique is preserved in the Latin Ritual used at the time, and in a contemporary English version: the latter also contains an admirable exhortation to the sovereign on the duties of his office, and on his responsibility as the pastor of his people. Both of these will be found in our Appendix¹⁰, with the other antient oaths hereafter mentioned.

The next copy on record is that of HENRY I.¹¹ which agrees exactly with the former; a proof that in this respect no change was made by the Norman Conquest. Lord Lytelton thus notices their identity: "I entirely agree with Mr Carte in opinion that the old office used at king Ethelred's coronation, and after him by all our kings of the An-

⁸ Ch. I. and *MS. Harl.*

⁹ "to defend," Strutt.

¹⁰ See Appendix to Book IV. No. 2 and 3.

¹¹ *MS. Cott. Claud. A iii.* p. 17.

¹² *Hist. of Hen. II.* vol. i. p. 451. See also Turner's *Hist. of Engl.* p. 66.; *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, p. xi.; and Atwood's *Dependency of Ireland*, p. 46.

¹³ See Rad. de Diceto, *X. Script.* p. 626, and *MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.* p. 112. The latest appearance of

glo-Saxon race, was made use of by William I. as we know it was by his successors ¹²."

The oath of HENRY II. though not preserved by itself, or in any account of his coronation, is recorded as it was cited in a parliament during his reign: from the report of this citation it appears to have been the same as his predecessor's ¹³. The oaths of the four following reigns I have not been able to find authentic ¹⁴; but on examining that of EDWARD II. ¹⁵ we shall see that some important changes have been made in the intervening period. This oath, which is in the French language, agrees with the old one in the number, but not in the contents of its clauses: it further differs in being arranged interrogatively, and not in the manner of a promissory engagement. On comparing it with that already given from Sandford, the reader will see that the same form remained in use in the reign of James II. being that which is usually cited and alluded to as the ancient oath of the kings of England.

It will be observed that besides the alterations already noticed in the body of the oath, there is prefixt to the present copy a condition not found in the older forms (*Sire, voulez vous graunter, &c.—au poeple d' Engleterre*):—to this we will now direct our attention. The laws of Edward the Confessor, to which this clause refers, were justly

this oath is in Bracton, who lived under Henry III. but it was probably not in use at that time.

¹⁴ It must be observed, however, that Matthew Paris gives us the substance of the oaths of Richard I., John, and Henry III., which are worthy of notice as they differ in some respect from those in use both before and after their reigns. See also Hoveden for that of Richard I.

¹⁵ Appendix, No. 5.

regarded by our forefathers with the greatest respect; and it appears that the Conqueror himself had been more than once obliged to promise that they should be kept inviolate¹⁶, a promise repeated with great solemnity by his son Henry I. and ratified in his great charter¹⁷. It is probable, however, that their restoration by this king was far from complete, and that a disposition was manifested by all the Norman kings to depart from the strict observance of the English code. Such a disposition did not lessen the nation's zeal for the attainment of their favourite object; they made the keeping of their old laws a primary condition in their acceptance of a candidate for the crown: this, with the Norman princes and some of their immediate successors, was the subject of previous treaty and compact¹⁸, but afterwards, when the public right was rather to be preserved than acquired, the condition was proposed at the time of the coronation; and hence it became a permanent custom that every king before he received the crown, and even before he took the usual official oath, should renew

¹⁶ Particularly at Berkhamstead; see Matth. Paris in *Vita Frederici Abbatis S. Albani*. "*Anglis concessit*," saith Ord: Vitalis, "*sub legibus perseverare patriis*." See also the title of his laws in Wilkins, *Leges A-Sax.* p. 219, or Kelham, *Norm. Laws*, p. 6.

¹⁷ "*Henricus, &c. congregato Londoniis clero Angliæ et populo universo, promisit emendatio legum quibus oppressa fuerat Anglia tempore patris sui et fratris nuper defuncti. Ad hæc clero respondente et magnatibus cunctis, quod, si animo volenti ipsis vellet concedere et charta sua committere illas libertates et consuetudines antiquas quas floruerunt in regno tempore regis S. Edwardi, in ipsum consentirent, et in regem unanimiter consecrarent.*"—Matth. Paris, p. 85. In the charter of confirmation he says "*Lagam regis Edwardi vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit, consilio baronum suorum.*"

the pledge which had thus been exacted, in the words which are now under notice. With respect to the time when this clause was prefixt to the oath, although it first appears in that of Edward II. there is good reason to suppose that it was introduced before his reign. It is not indeed mentioned by the historians who give us the oaths of Richard I., John, and Henry III.; but this is no proof that it was unknown, since it is evident, even from later copies¹⁸, that the clause was not considered as part of the oath, but as a separate preliminary condition.

Resuming our historical progress, we find that the oath now remains unaltered. That of EDWARD III., which is in the same words as his predecessor's, may be consulted in Rymer's *Fædera*²⁰. The oath of RICHARD II. we have in Latin, from the *Liber Regalis*, but agreeing in substance with the last-mentioned French ones. This form was continued during the reigns of HENRY IV. HENRY V. and HENRY VI.: of the latter king we find a "*Serement en Fraunceys*" like that of Edward II. except in orthogra-

¹⁸ Mr. Johnson, in his *Vindication of Magna Charta*, p. 1. says—"Nor was the manner and form of granting these laws" (the Confessor's) "by charter, or under hand and seal, with the confirmation of an oath, over and above the coronation oath, any new invention or innovation at all; for as William I. began it, so I am sure that Henry I. and King Stephen and Henry II. did the same before."

¹⁹ See particularly the oath from Tottel's Statutes, Appendix, No. 6. It is not found in Robert Holkot's account of the ceremonial, supposed to be of the reign of Edward III. (see Appendix, No. 4.) nor in a copy of the oath from the Parliament Roll 1 Hen. IV. printed in 1642. See also that of Hen. VII. hereafter given.

²⁰ Other copies may be seen in Wanley's *Catalogue*, p. 224, and in *Cott. MS. Vesp. C xiv.* and *Nero C ix.*

phy²¹. A Latin oath, from Tottel's edition of the Statutes, will be given in the Appendix²², which will also show the variations in copies of the different reigns above mentioned.

The oaths of HENRY VII. and HENRY VIII. are found in English ceremonials of their respective coronations: and as these are of some importance in the prosecution of our inquiry I shall here insert the oath of Henry VII.²³ collated with that of his successor.

"The cardinall shall aske the king under this forme, with an open and distinct voyce: Will ye graunt and keepe to the people of Englande the lawes and customes to them as old²⁴, rightfull and devoute kings graunted; and the same ratifie and confirme by your othe? and specially lawes, customes and liberties graunted to the clergie and people, by your predecessor and glorious king Saynct Edward? The king shall answer, I graunt and permit. Then shall the said cardinall open unto him the speciall articles wherunto the king shall be sworne; the same cardinall saying as followeth: Ye shall keepe, after your strenght and power, [to] the church of God, to the clergie, and the people, hoole peace and godlie concord? The king shall answer, I shall keepe. Ye shall make to be done, after your strenght and power, [equal and] rightfull justice in all your domes and judgements, and discrecion, with mercie and trowthe? The king shall answer, I shall do. Do ye graunt the rightfull lawes and customes to be holden; and

²¹ *MS. Cott. Nero C ix.* p. 166. ²² Appendix, No. 6.

²³ From the *Little Devise*, &c. p. 105.

²⁴ "as of olde tyme."—Hen. VIII. *MS. Cott. T^{ib}. E viii. f. 100 b.*

permitte you, after your strenght and power, such lawes as to the worship of God shall be chosen by your people, by yow to be strengthenid and defendid? The king shall answer, I graunte and permitte.

In the foregoing pages I have carefully, though briefly, continued the history of the coronation oath to the time of the REFORMATION. We will now pass on to the reign of CHARLES I. as a discussion then arose which involves the whole of its history from the time of Henry VIII.

In the oath of Charles (which will be found at p. 329 in the various readings upon that of James II.) two important alterations will be observed in the first and last clauses; these I shall consider, 1st as to their origin, and 2dly as to their nature and effect.

1. The reader is probably aware that a charge of altering the coronation oath was one of the articles of impeachment against Dr Laud, archbishop of Canterbury: with a view to our first inquiry I shall therefore cite a few passages from the primate's statement of the accusation and defence. "The third charge," he says, "was about the ceremonies at the coronation of his majesty:—Then leaving the ceremonies he charged me with two alterations in the body of the king's oath. One ADDED; namely, these words, 'AGREEABLE TO THE KING'S PREROGATIVE.' The other OMITTED; namely these words, '*Quæ populus elegerit,*' WHICH THE PEOPLE HAVE CHOSEN, OR SHALL CHOOSE. For this latter, the clause omitted, that suddenly vanished: for it was omitted in the oath of King James, as is confessed by themselves in the printed votes of this present

parliament. But the other highly insisted on, as taking off the total assurance which the subjects have by the oath of their prince for the performance of his laws. First, I humbly conceive this clause takes off none of the peoples assurance, &c. Secondly, that alteration, whatever it be, was not made by me." "At last," he adds, "the book of King James's coronation and the other urged against me concerning King Charles were seen and compared openly in the Lords' House, and found to be the same oath in both, and no interlining or alteration in the book charged against me."

The archbishop closes his remarks on this memorable charge with the following observation: "Before I quite leave this oath I may say 'tis not altogether improbable that this clause—'and agreeing to the prerogative of the kings thereof,' was added to the oath in Edw. VI. or Queen Elizabeth's time; and hath no relation at all to the laws of this kingdom absolutely mentioned before in the beginning of this oath; but only to the words 'the profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom:' and then immediately follows, 'and agreeing to the prerogative of the kings thereof.'—If this be the meaning, he that made the alteration, whoever it were, for I did it not, deserves thanks for it, and not the reward of a traitor²⁴."

²⁴ *Troubles and Trial of Abp. Laud*, by Wharton, p. 318—324. I have dwelt more fully upon this charge against Archbishop Laud because it hath frequently been renewed more in the spirit of party prejudice than of historical truth. The evidence brought forward by the person accused is, I think, sufficiently conclusive in his favour; but his memory is more completely vindicated by the discovery of

2. With regard to the first of these alterations, we must, I think, admit the archbishop's conjecture, that the reservation in favour of the king's prerogative, standing as it does in connexion with the rights of the church, may have been made professedly with a view to the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters. This will appear less improbable on a comparison of the alteration made by Henry VIII. in the corresponding clause of an oath which he himself corrected³⁵; namely, his insertion of the words "not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal," after those about the "holy church;" to which alone they can refer. Thus understood, the addition in Charles's oath would not have had the tendency ascribed to it.

The second of these alterations, the omission of the words *quas vulgus elegerit*, was not, like the former, of doubtful importance; and the controversy respecting it was in fact a contest for and against the admission of a most weighty prerogative, namely, a negative power of the crown in the making of laws, though in appearance it became a dispute about the sense and construction of words. When this omission was detected by a comparison of the more antient copies, the advocates of royal prerogative endeavoured to prove that even in these the true meaning of the sentence was very different from that which was gene-

another copy of the oath undoubtedly older than the time even of James I., and agreeing with that of Charles in both the objected passages. I mean the oath from the Harleian library, which we have collated with Sandford's at the beginning of the present Note.

³⁵ The original copy is preserved in the Cottonian library, *Tiber. E viii. fol. 100.*

nerally assigned to it, and that neither the Latin *elegerit* nor the French *aura eslu* was capable of a future sense. It was admitted that the king was bound by them to keep laws which the people *shall have made*, but not that he was obliged to sanction any that they *shall hereafter make*; and between these forms of translation they raised a wide and important distinction. Perhaps the difference on which this distinction was founded may not be very apparent at the present day; but that the reader may know how it was defended, and judge of the arguments used on either side of this great question, I will cite a few passages from the writings of some distinguisht leaders in the controversy.

Dr Brady, in his Glossary, at the word *Elegerit*, writes as follows:—"Mr Prynne and the popular men would have *elegerit* here to be in the future tense, and have it signifie *shall chuse*, and so as to bind the king as he could not refuse such laws as were offered him by the parliament (for so he would have *vulgus* signifie) and by these almost only words to prove the king had no negative voice."—"But 'tis impossible Mr Prynne's sense of *elegerit* can ever be allowed, for the original words *aura eslu* can fairly admit of no other rendering than *shall have chosen*, that is, such laws and customs as they had already chosen; and for those that would have it in the option of the vulgar to propound laws to our kings which they could not deny to confirm, they never looked further than these words, nor never understood them," &c.

²⁶ The passages here cited by Mr Prynne are not repeated at full because they will be found in our copies of the several oaths.

We will now refer to the passage in Mr Prynne's work which is alluded to in that of Dr Brady. In the Second Part of his *Sovereign Power of Parliaments* (p. 67) the learned author argues that the clause under our notice relates to the making of *new* laws, first, from the practice of the constitution, and secondly, from the words of the oath; of which he says, "The coronation oaths of King Edward II. and III. remaining of record in French are in the future tense: '*Sire, grantez vous,*' &c.²⁶ The close roll of *an. 1*, Rich. II. *m. 44*²⁷ recites this clause of the oath which King Richard took, in these words, *Et etiam, &c.* in the future tense²⁸. And *Rot. Parl.* 1 Hen. IV. *n. 17*, expresseth the clause in King Henry his oath thus: *Concedis justas leges, &c.*²⁹ In the booke of Clarendieux Hapley, who lived in King Henry the VIII. his reigne, this clause of the oath (which this king is said to take at his coronation) is thus rendered in English:—Will you grant, fulfill, defend, all rightfull lawes and customes the which the commons of your realme shall chuse—and shall strengthen and maintaine to the worship of God, after your power? But that which puts this past all doubt is the coronation oath of King Edward the VI. thus altered by the Lord Protector and king's counsell in words, but not sence;—'Doe you grant to make no new lawes but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God and to the good of the commonwealth, and that the same shall bee made by consent of your people as hath been accustomed?' where this clause

²⁷ Rymer, tom. vii. See also Appendix, No. 6.

²⁸ He quotes Walsingham *Hist. Angl.* 1 Ric. II. p. 192. &c.

²⁹ As in Appendix, No. 6.

of the oath referres wholly and onely to future new lawes to be chosen and made by the people's consent, not to lawes formerly enacted²⁹."

Such were the disputes concerning this famous clause: but perhaps we may agree with Johnson³⁰ that the controversy upon the words was of little value; for if the laws were antiently made by the people, as the oath asserts, and the kings were bound to confirm and keep them when made, then must they still be bound to do so, whether the terms of the obligation be past or future.

The oath of JAMES II. has been copied at the beginning of the present note. On referring to it, we find that those corruptions which had given rise to so great displeasure in a former reign are here exactly continued! This fact was remarkt by the lord chief baron Atkyns, in his address to the lord mayor in the year 1693³¹. Alluding to the alterations imputed to archbishop Laud, he said, "And I could tell you of somewhat more of that kind, done since, in the time of the late King James: at the time of his coronation there was much more struck out of the coronation oath; which might well be worth the enquiring how it came about." But what, it will be askt, is this further innovation?—"They," says a writer in the *State Tracts*, "who administered the coronation oath to the late king left out the provision in the antient oath for the PEOPLE's enjoying St Edward's laws, being only concerned for the church." This, then, is another omission of a word which

²⁹ See also the First Part, p. 56, and the oath of Edward VI. in *Signal Loyalty*, ii. p. 251.

³⁰ See his *Essay concerning Parliaments at a Certainty*, chap. iv.

is in all ancient copies of the oath²²; but it is erroneously ascribed to the reign of James II. as the same omission will be found in the oath of Charles I. though it appears to have there escaped detection.

We have now brought down our inquiry to the era of the Revolution of 1688: and here the subject of it is changed by the entire abrogation of the old coronation oath on the accession of WILLIAM III. By Stat. 1 W. and M. cap. vi. it was declared that, "forasmuch as the oath hath heretofore been framed in doubtful words and expressions, with relation to antient laws and constitutions at this time unknown, and to the end that one uniform oath may be in all times to come taken by the kings and queens of this realm, and to them respectively administered at the times of their coronation," the oath therein contained should be administered to their majesties, and to all succeeding kings or queens of the realm.

The intended uniformity of this new oath "in all times to come," was however very quickly interrupted: in the following reign it was found necessary to alter and enlarge it. This was done on the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland. By the Treaty made on this occasion it was agreed that in the latter country the religion profest by the people of it should be preserved to them, and confirmed by every king on his accession. Hence it was also thought

²¹ See Preface to Wharton's *Hist. of Abp. Laud*; and the *Critical History of England*, vol. i. p. 313.

²² "*Les lois, les custumes, et les franchises grauntez au clergie et au peuple par le glorieux roy Saint Edward,*" &c.

fit that some further provision should be made for the protection of the English church in England: and for this purpose a new clause was added to the oath prescribed to be taken at the coronation. This clause, with the other verbal alterations in the title of the sovereignty, will be found distinguished in the copy already given in our ceremonial³³.

By the statute which contains these alterations it is also directed that the oath shall be "taken and *subscribed*" by the new sovereign: this practice, which is continued to the present time, does not appear either in laws or ceremonials before the Union, though from some expressions in an ancient writing³⁴ it has been thought to have long since obtained in this, as it did in some other countries.

In what follows I shall endeavour to refer the reader to some of those oaths of foreign princes which have been most correctly reported.

We have that of the GREEK EMPIRE very fully given us by Codinus³⁵:—here, before the emperor was crowned, he professed his acceptance of the Apostles' Creed, and of the Apostolical traditions, confirmed the rights of the church, and acknowledged the constitutions of the seven œcume-

³³ See *Statute 5 Ann. cap. viii. Art. 25.*

³⁴ A life of Archbp. Becket, containing a Letter to King Hen. II. in which the prelate says, "*memores sitis confessionis quam fecistis et posuistis super altare apud Westmonasterium, de servanda ecclesiæ libertate, quando consecrati fuistis et uncti in regem à predecessore nostro Theobaldo.*" See also the Saxon oath. ³⁵ P. 87, edit. 1625, folio.

³⁶ Appendix, No. 7. See also Le Secq, *Hist. de l'Elec. et Couronnement du Roy des Romains*, &c. part II. p. 38; Pütter, *Inst. Jur. Pub. &c.*

nical councils; he then promised fidelity to the church and clemency to his subjects, and that he would keep from cruelty and follow truth and justice. These things, which are contained in six articles, he ratified by his oath and subscription.

For the GERMAN EMPIRE we may take the oath of Maximilian I. which is divided into six heads, chiefly taken from the formulary in the *Ordo Romanus*. Other copies may doubtless be found in Goldastus and the German antiquaries³⁶.

The oath of the kings of FRANCE has sustained little alteration from the earliest time: it is exactly the same with that of our Æthelred II. but with an additional clause at the end, promising the extirpation of heresy³⁷, and with the consequent omission of the word *tria* at the beginning. The same oath I have found set down for the kings of SCOTLAND in the older times.

The kings of BOHEMIA, besides assenting to the first and third interrogatories of the oath in the *Ordo Romanus*, took also a particular oath to preserve the rights and liberties of their people³⁸.

In SWEDEN we possess an unusually interesting monument of this kind;—an oath of a time antecedent to the conversion of the country to the Christian religion, and

³⁷ "Item, de terrâ meâ ac jurisdictione mihi subditâ universos hæreticos ab ecclesiâ damnatos pro viribus bonâ fide exterminare studebo."—*Recueil du Formulaire*, &c. p. 32. The *Ordo* of Charles V. has also an addition to the first clause; "Et superioritatem, jura, et nobilitates coronæ Franciæ inviolabiliter custodiam, et illa nec transportabo nec alienabo."—Selden, *Tyt. Hon.* Part 1. cap. 8. v.

³⁸ See Appendix, No. 9.

actually bearing in it the name of ODIN. The antient Sweo Gothic oath consisted of two parts, one relating to the administration of law or justice, (*taq gifwa*) the other to the preservation of peace. Of the latter clause the following is a copy in the original language:³⁹ *Eg suer, og fet nu þier grib og frið i landi þessu, sic ODM ab gribum*: thus rendered by my author, *Pacem vobis juro et firmo in hac regione, Odinus vindex esto*. This form of adjuration is said to have been altered to one accommodated to the Christian faith by St Eric, who reigned in 1156.

The following appears from the Swedish law books to have been the later form. "Ru äger Konunger eed sin swärja å book, och Hålgadoma i hand sinne hålda, och swä sigbia: Swä bidher iag mig Gud huldan både till lif och själ, Jomfru Sancta Maria och Sancte Eric Konung, och all Hålgon, och Hålgadoma the iag å hålder, at iag skall alla upthalda och förnåmnda *Articulos* styrkia och hålda, efter kunnist och bästa samwiti mino⁴⁰." This I suppose we may read as follows:—Now ought the king his oath to swear by book, and the reliques to hold in his hand, and thus to say: So pray I God help me, both in life and soul, our lady St Mary, and St Eric, king, and all hallowes, and the reliques which I now hold, as I shall all the recited and forenamed articles confirm and hold, after my cunning and best judgement.

³⁹ The authority is Lundius in *Notis ad E.L. W-Goth.* p. 98. See Akerman, *Ritus Antiquus Regum Sv.-Goth. per Provincias circum-*

cundi, Upsal, 1708. p. 26.

⁴⁰ *Landel. K. B. c. 4.* See Törner, *Diss. de Mora-Steen*, p. 28. For antient Scandinavian oaths in general see further in Sheringham *De Angl. Gent. Orig.* cap. xiii. p. 277.

Petition of the Bishops.

WE have here to notice an omission in the Coronation service which appears to have arisen from the change of the oath on the accession of King William III. By old custom, a petition or claim on behalf of the bishops should be addressed to the king by one of the order immediately after the oath is administered, in the following form:

"Our lord the king, we beseech you to pardon us, and to grant and preserve unto us, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that you will protect and defend us, as every good king in his kingdom ought to be a protector and defender of the bishops, and the churches under their government.

The king answers, With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant you my pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice: and that I will be your protector and defender to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king in his kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the bishops, and the churches under their government."

The address of the bishops does not appear in the *Ordo* of Henry I. nor do we know exactly the time of its first being used: It is however of considerable antiquity, and may be seen in the published copies of the *Liber Regalis*. In France, the antiquity assigned to this part of the ceremony is very remote. Louis II. in the middle of the ninth century is said to have received the petition of the bishops

from the mouth of Hincmar, the prelate who crowned him. Speaking of Hincmar and the bishops of his time, the Abbé Vertot says, "*Ils ne mettoient point la couronne sur la teste de ces princes qu'ils n'en eussent obtenu la promesse ou le serment de les protéger et de les défendre: A vobis perdonari petimus, &c. Nous vous demandons, dit le mesme Hincmar, en adressant la parole à Louis le Begue, qu'il alloit sacrer, que vous conserviez nos droits, nos privileges, et nos libertez. Et le prince repondit, Promitto vobis et perdono canonicum privilegium, &c.*"—*Mem. de l'Acad.* tom. ii. p. 720. The same petition is also in the *Ordo* of Charles V. and other ceremonials of France, to the latest times, but in these it comes before instead of after the administration of the oath.

P. 190.—*Anointing.*

ONE of the principal changes which our ceremonial hath undergone is the omission of the practice of anointing with CHRISM after the unction of the consecrated oil. Till the time of Elizabeth, or perhaps of James I.¹, it was usual for the king to be anointed on the palms of his hands, on his breast, between his shoulders, on his elbows, and on his head, with the holy oil, *in formâ crucis*, and afterward with the chrism, in the same form, upon his forehead.

The distinction between the oil and the chrism of our rituals may be explained by showing their respective uses in the ceremonies of the Christian church. In the earlier ages three kinds of unction were employed in the offices of religion; 1st, that for sick persons; 2d, that for the *catechumeni*, or persons not yet baptized or confirmed; and 3d, that used in baptism, confirmation, or consecration. The former of these were with oil consecrated for the two several purposes by the priest, but the latter with an unguent of oil mingled with balm, which was prepared at a particular season, and always consecrated by a bishop, by whom only it could be used, except in cases of necessity in the rite of baptism². This, then, was the chrism of our coronations:

¹ We know that the chrism was used in the unction of Edward VI. (Milles, *Catal.* p. 57, &c.): in that of Mary without doubt: and the coronation of Elizabeth is said to have been in the antient form.

² See Du Cange, *vv. Chrisma, Oleum, Ampulla*; Durandus, *Rationale Divin. Offic.* lib. i. & vi.; and the antient treatises of Alcuinus, Rupertus Tuitensis, Rabanus Maurus, &c. in the collection of Melchior Hittorpius.

but it doth not appear that its use in this ceremony was generally recognised by the church. The *oleum catechamenorum* is prescribed for the anointing of kings both in the *Ordo Romanus* and the Pontifical; even the emperor was anointed with this only, excepting when crowned by the pope at Rome: and on this account, as well as for its alleged divine origin, have the French writers extolled the privilege of their kings to be anointed with the chrism of the *sainte ampoule*. "*Les rois étoient autrefois sacrez de la même huile que les prêtres: et nos rois ont encore cet avantage, de n'être point sacrez de l'huile des cathécumenes, comme les prêtres, mais du saint chrême, comme les évêques*."³ Whether the kings of France like those of England were used to receive a double unction, with oil and chrism separately, I have not been able to discover; but in some of the legends of the *sainte ampoule* mention is made of two vials, one of oil, the other of chrism (*duas ampullas oleo et chrismate plenas*), both of which were filled in a miraculous manner⁴. It is remarkable that the history of the English *ampulla* contains a corresponding relation; in this a golden eagle and a small vial of glass are said to have been presented to St Thomas: *Statim apparuit mihi beata Maria habens in pectore istam aquilam auream, et in manu tenens istam parvam ampullam lapideam*⁵;—the latter is

³ *Formulaire du Sacre*, 8vo. Rheims, 1722, p. v. The privilege asserted by the ceremonial of Charles V. is as follows:—"Qui solus inter universos reges terræ hoc glorioso præfulget privilegio, ut oleo cœlitus misso singularitèr inungatur."

⁴ *Lettre sur la Sainte Ampoule*, par M. Pluche, 8vo. pp. 38, 41, 45.

⁵ *MS. Coll. Faust.* B ix. See p. 59 of this work for a history of the *ampulla*.

afterwards called "*ampulla crystallina*." Of their contents we are not correctly informed by the writer of this narrative; nor is the account of Walsingham satisfactory in this respect. In the *Liber Regalis*, which was probably written before the discovery of the golden eagle in the Tower, we have the following rubric concerning the oil and chrism to be used in the coronation:—"Et provideatur à sacristà quod ampullulæ, tam de oleo quàm de chrismate, quarum una deaurata est, et in se continens sanctum chrisma, altera verò solum argentea, et in se continens oleum sanctum, sint ad altare præparatæ:" what was the practice afterwards with the vessels of the legend we are not informed, but they were probably used in the same manner till the chrism itself was no longer employed.

The use of the two ampullæ was common both to the Latin and Greek churches⁶. In the latter we read of a *duplex ampulla*, the διδάμπουλον, which contained both the oil and chrism, and of a single vessel, μονάμπουλον, appropriated to the chrism alone. The former of these was carried before the emperor on festival days "*ut unctionis suæ, tam in baptismo quàm in imperatoriâ inauguratione semper memor esset*"⁷. Amongst the Roman clergy three vessels are sometimes spoken of⁸; the third however, which

⁶ See Ducange, v. *Ampulla*, and Meursius, *Gloss. Græc.* p. 125.

⁷ Gretzer, *Comment. in Codicum*, p. 218.

⁸ Ducange, *ut supra*. The two kinds of consecrated oil were to be kept *awunder* in the time of our Ælfric: Se ppeort ƿceal eac habban gehalgode ele on yundron to cilðam. ƿ on yundron to ƿeoçam mannum.—*Canones Ælfrici*, art. 32. An illumination in a MS. Pontifical now before me shows the three vessels together upon the altar.

contained the *oleum infirmorum*, will of course never occur in the ceremonies before us. In Scotland, at the coronation of Robert II. there were two vials of sacred oil; the use of the chrism may therefore be implied in that kingdom. I do not remember to have seen a double unction recorded of the Swedish kings, but we have the following description of a vessel for the chrism: "*Circus unctionem autem regiam, nec silentio prætermittendum pretiosissimum illud cornu chrismatis coronationis, quod ex auro confabrefactum, et basi aureæ adjectum, gemmis ac margaritis distinguitur, in summo vero acumine suo Justitiam, subtilissimè exsculptam, manuque libram tenentem, gerit, et longitudine novem digitos duasque lineas continet*."

I shall add a few words on the composition of unguents for purposes of consecration. The most antient of this kind of which we have any knowledge is the ointment prepared at the divine command by Moses, and particularly described in the book of Exodus, ch. xxx. ver. 23-5. This unguent, which is distinguisht from consecrated oil, was however a fluid: it is said (though perhaps figuratively) to have run down upon Aaron's beard and descended to the

⁹ Brehmer, *De Regalibus*, p. 14. ¹⁰ Psalm cxxxiii. ver. 2.

¹¹ See on this subject Selden *De Success. in Pontif.* l. ii. c. 9. and *Tyt. Hon.* part I. c. 8. i.; also Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, p. 12.

¹² Codinus, p. 92.

¹³ Ἡ εὖ μέγα εὐδαιμον ἐναργυρὴ εἰς τοὺς ἰσθμίου δῶν, ἐς λαοῦ πλεονεξίας ἔχουσα αὐτοῦντος ἰσθμίου. Dionysius *De Eccles. Hierarch.* cap. 4. See Arcudius *De Conc. Eccles. Occ. et Or.* pp. 49, 70.

¹⁴ Luke vii. 46. "My head with oil (λαίον) thou didst not anoint; but this woman hath anointed my feet (πόδες) with ointment." In the offices of the Greek church also, the same words are distinguisht in a similar manner:—"χεῖρὶς λαίου est unctio catechumenorum, χεῖρὶς ἀρχι-

skirts of his garment¹⁰. The Hebrew word which is used in the above cited text (מָשֻׁחַ) is rendered in Greek χρίσμα; hence He who in a spiritual sense was "anointed with the oil of gladness above his fellows" is called מָשֻׁחַ, Χριστός, the Anointed. On the destruction of the Temple, the holy chrism of the Jews, which is said to have been miraculously preserved from the time of Moses, was lost; and, as it was deemed unlawful to attempt a renovation of it, the practice of anointing was laid aside¹¹.

The unction of the Greek emperors is said to have been τῆ δειλῇ μύρρῳ¹², which appears to be a thick perfumed oil¹³; we find the word rendered ointment in our version of the New Testament, and at the same time opposed to one translated oil¹⁴. That μύρρον is synonymous with χρίσμα we may infer from its being used in relation to baptism or confirmation, by a writer of the sixth century¹⁵. The chrism of the Roman church hath already been described. "*Chrisma conficitur*," saith Alcuin, "*ex oleo mundissimo et optimo balsamo*:" to such a compound many spiritual properties would of course be affix by the early expositors of the divine offices¹⁶. With regard to that which is of most ac-

λαίου unctio olei cum oratione, quæ est infirmorum, et χρίσιν μύρρον, unctio unguenti, et hæc posset verti chrismatio, et verbum χρίσιν chrismatur, ut etiam quandoque χρίσμα per excellentiam hoc unguentum appellatur."—Arcadius *De Conc. Eccles.* p. 49.

¹² Dion. Areop. *De Hierarch.*—This author indeed appears to use the terms *δωδεκὴν μύρρον* and *ἀγίασμα* χρίσμα indifferently.—Arcadius, *Lex. Eccles.* p. 34.

¹³ "*Chrisma conficitur ex balsamo et oleo propter mysticam rationem; per oleum nitor conscientie designatur; per balsamum vero exprimitur odor fame.*"—Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. vi. St. Cyprian (probably alluding to the original purposes of its formation) says, "*Sacrum con-*

count in the history of coronations,—the chrism of the *sainte ampoule*, it is difficult to judge what may have been its original character:—" *La matiere qu'elle contient,*" says a French writer, "*n'est plus une liqueur ; c'est une es- pece de cotignac desséché et condensé sur les parois du vase : On en racle, dans le besoin, quelque parcelle avec une petite aiguille ou spatule d'or ; et cette parcelle communique une couleur rougeatre au chrême dans le quel on la delaye au sacre de nos rois*"¹⁷."

Of the unction which is used for our English kings of the present age little needs be said : it is prepared from the purest olive oil, and is of course set apart for the purpose to which it is designed with suitable acts of reverential solemnity. The formulary of its consecration hath not I believe been publisht.

fitur chrisma, in quo mistum oleo balsamum regis et sacerdotalis glorie asprimit unitatem." If the reader is disposed to consult the ancient ritualists above referred to, he will find abundant matter of this kind. For the ceremonial of its consecration he is referred to the Pontificals.

¹⁷ Flushe, *Lettre*, &c. p. 12.

P. 204.—*Homage and Fealty.*

It is perhaps unnecessary to inform the reader that **HOMAGE** and **FEALTY** are the bonds of reciprocal duty and protection between lord and tenant¹; and that by the ceremonies of doing homage and swearing fealty the feudal relations of seignor and vassal are added to the civil and political characters of king and subject. As the performance of these ceremonies hath long been connected with regal investiture, some further remarks upon them will not be foreign from our general design.

HOMAGE, or the doing of Homage, is a mutual acknowledgement on the part of the lord and the tenant that the latter is the **MAN**, or vassal, of the former; which is further manifested by a personal act of obeisance and service on the one part, and of acceptance and patronage on the other². Homage, then, can only be done "by the person of the tenant to the person of the lord." **FEALTY** is a consequent promise upon oath, on the part of the tenant, that as a vassal he will be faithful and true to his lord, and perform the services which are due on account of his tenure: this oath

¹ "*Quid sit Homagium? Sciendum quod Homagium est juris vinculum, quo quis tenetur et astringitur ad warrantizandum, defendendum, et acquietandum tenentem suum in seysinâ suâ versus omnes, per certum servitium in donatione nominatum et expressum; et etiam, vice versâ, quo tenens reobligatur et astringitur ad fidem domino suo servandam, et servitium debitum faciendum.*"—Bracton, lib. ii. 2.

² Sir M. Wright (*Law of Tenures*, p. 67, note) observes that the words of homage (*jeo devaigne vostre home*), though pronounced by the tenant, equally obliged the lord; for homage according to Britton (170) "*He deus homes per leur commun assent.*"

may be administered either in the lord's presence, or before another person authorized by him.

From particulars given in the text³, the reader may have formed a sufficient idea of the manner in which these ceremonies are usually performed: with a view to further illustration I shall here insert the form of homage prescribed by Lyttelton (§ 85) in the language of his translator Coke: "Homage is the most honourable service and most humble service of reverence, that a frank tenant may doe to his lord: For when the tenant shall make homage to his lord he shall be ungirt, and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit, and the tenant shal kneele before him on both his knees, and hold his hands joyntly together betweene the hands of his lord⁴, and shall say thus: 'I become your man from this day forward of life and limbe and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithfull, and beare you faith for the tenements that I claime to hold of you (saving the faith that I owe unto our severaigne lord the king);' and then the lord so sitting shall kisse him."

In so far as relates to ceremony, there appears to have been no difference between simple and what is termed *liege homage*, or that which was done to a *sovereign seignor*⁵. For the form of words peculiar to the latter we may re-

³ See Book iv. p. 204: also Book v. p. 254.

⁴ "*Debet quidem tenens manus suas utraque ponere inter manus utraque domini sui, per quod significatur ex parte domini protectio, defensio, et warrantia, et ex parte tenentis reverentia et subjectio.*"—Bracton, lib. ii. §.

⁵ The only difference indeed consisted in the omission of the clause "saving the faith," &c. which was unnecessary in *liege homage*. Mr Hallam in his *View of the Middle Ages*, 8vo, vol. i. 176, inadvertently attributes them to *liege homage*: But see Coke and Bracton, §c.

fer to the ceremonial of the present day; some more ancient copies may however be acceptable to the curious, and will be given in the Appendix. With regard to the homage said to be done by the TEMPORAL PEERS at our coronations, the reader will observe that although the ceremony performed is strictly that of homage, yet a form of adjuration is connected with it, which gives to the tenant's profession the force of an oath of fealty. This blending of two distinct solemnities is certainly a departure from original practice; but it is nevertheless a departure of long continuance, and one that is perfectly known to the writers on legal antiquities. "In some countries on the continent of Europe," saith Mr Hargrave, "homage and fealty are blended together so as to form one engagement, being so entire that one cannot be without the other, and therefore foreign jurists frequently consider them as synonymous*." "*In homagio præstando*," writes Sir H. Spelman, "*non jurat vassallus, sed in fidelitate. — Licet autem dixerimus non juratum esse in homagio sed in fidelitate, intelligendum est quod fidelitatis præstatio individuum sequitur homagium, atque hoc in causâ esse conjicio quod nonnulli docti asserunt in homagio jurari*." The distinction between the service of homage and the profession of fealty,

* Notes on Co. Lit. § 91. In the *Contumier de Touraine* (1507) I find a distinction in this respect between homage simple and liege. "*Le vassal doit faire hommaige simple a son seigneur nue teste, les mains jointes, et le baiser. Et celluy qui doit hommaige lige le doit faire mains jointes sur les Evangilles, nue teste, desseint, et le baiser, en faisant les sermens requis.*" To the same effect there is something in Coke, § 91: but of both I would say in the old phrase *Quere de coo*.

⁷ Gloss. in v. *Homagium*.

as well as the union which custom and convenience have formed between them, are ably defined and elucidated by Sir Martin Wright. "It appears not only from the several historians cited in the former note (Ingulphus, Huntingdon, &c.), but likewise from The Mirror, Britton, Bracton, and Fleta, that homage and fealty (though treated by the feudists as synonymys) were really with us distinct though concomitant engagements; for though fealty was incident and essential to homage or tenure, and is now become part of the form of homage itself (*vid.* Stat. 17 E. II. and Lit. § 85.), yet there was no doubt antiently a considerable difference between them; inasmuch as homage was merely a declaration of the homager's consent to become his lord's man or military tenant of such lands or tenements (*jeo deveigne vostre home de tiel fief*,—*Mirror*, p. 206 [226]; and the same author p. 304 [306] reckons it one of the abuses of the common law *de mettre plus des paroles en homages faire, forsque tant Jeo deveigne vostre home del fieu que jeo claime tenir de vous*.)—Fealty on the other hand was a solemn oath, consequential to homage, and sworn immediately after it, that the homager would as his man or tenant be faithful to his lord⁸." But he adds in another place—"Whatsoever difference there was antiently in our law between homage and fealty, they are now so blended together that they are in effect with us, as in other countries, but one and the same engagement."

"Fealtie," saith Coke, "is a part of homage; for all the words of fealtie are comprehended within homage, and

⁸ *Law of Tenures*, p. 55, note; 141, note.

therefore fealty is incident to homage." But "this," Mr Hargrave justly observes, "is not strictly accurate; for the words *So help me God and the Saints*, which constitute the oath, and are therefore of the essence of fealty, were not comprehended in the form of homage, nor were the words *I will lawfully do to you the customs, &c.* Another difference between the two in point of expression was that the person doing fealty did not say *I become your man*; — words so significant of the nature of the engagement by homage."

We shall now procede to the form of service assigned to the Bishops, or SPIRITUAL PEERS. Of this form it is difficult to apprehend the genuine character; for although our later ceremonials agree in calling it a doing of homage, there appears to be sufficient ground for believing that, at least in the *name* thus given to it; a deviation from antient authority hath been suffered to obtain.

It hath been shown that Homage is always done by the tenant's *kneeling* and placing his hands between those of the lord, in this posture making the declaration *I become your man, &c.* and afterwards kissing the lord. The manner of swearing Fealty was by the tenant *standing*, and repeating an oath with one hand laid upon the Gospels. Du Cange, referring to examples he had collected, writes "*Ex quibus patet homagii et sacramenti fidelitatis discrimen; ac homagium quidem fieri a vassallo genibus flexis, manibus in domini manus immissis: sacramentum vero fidelitatis, a vassallo stante, et tactis sanctis Evangeliiis*."

² Gloss. v. Fidelitas.

In another place, "*Vassallus, tactis sacrosanctis Evangelis, fidelitatem domino pollicebatur, stans, non flexis genibus*¹⁰." Sir H. Spelman says (of another example), "*manuum, verò Tassilonis in manus regis collationem ad hominii ceremoniam pertinere, non ad fidelitatis. In fidelitate enim juranda, jurantis manus vel ad Sanctorum reliquias vel ad Evangelii codicem porrigebatur, non autem ad manus regias*¹¹." These authorities are perhaps sufficient to show that essential differences existed between the two ceremonies: with regard to the kneeling, I know of no instance among all the many varieties of ceremony used in their administration, of an oath being taken in that posture. Let us now procede to examine generally the service of the spiritual lords, and the opinions of writers respecting it.

The account of this service in Sandford's work is in these words: "First, the Archbishop of Canterbury kneeling

¹⁰ Gloss. v. *Hominium*.

¹¹ Gloss. v. *Fidelitas*.

¹² Compare with the Oath of Fealty in *Co. Litt.* § 91.

¹³ It may here be observed, that the attributing to Brucers the form *Jeo face a vous homage* appears to rest solely on the interpretation which the great commentator hath given to the following words of his author;—"Mes si un abbe, ou un pryor, ou auter home de religion ferra homage a son seignior il ne dirra *Jeo deveigne vostre home*, &c. —mes il dirra issint, *Jeo vous face homage, et a vous serra foial et loial*," &c.—(*Littleton*, § 86.) Upon this passage we find it said—"No man of religion when he doth homage shall say *Jeo deveigne vostre home*, because he hath professed himselfe the man of God; yet shall he doe homage, and shall say *Jeo face*, &c. And note, that here religion is taken largely; for it extends not only to regular persons, as abbots and the like, but also to all ecclesiasticall persons, as bishops, deanes, or any other sole ecclesiastical body politike; and so it is the use at this day, which also appeares in our old books." In another place,

before his Majesty's knees, the other bishops doing the same behind and about him, did his homage, saying, I *Willelm,*" &c. "Then he arose and kissed the king's left cheek, and after him the rest of the bishops present did the like."

It will be found on examination of this account, that the words here spoken are those of the oath of Fealty¹², but that the actions with which they are accompanied are those used in doing Homage. We have seen from the authorities already quoted that these ceremonies are mutually inconsistent; it therefore remains for us to inquire which of the two was originally proper to the episcopal order.

"It is to be observed," saith Sir E. Coke, "that in old bookes and records the homage which a bishop, abbot, or other man of religion doth, is called Fealty, for that it wasteth these words *Jeo devisegne vostre home*: but yet in judgement of law IT IS HOMAGE, because he saith, I doe to you homage, &c. and so of a woman¹³." Cowell, in the

however, we have this remark—"When a man is professed in any of the orders of religion, he is said to bee *home de religion*, a man of religion, or religious. Of this sort bee all abbots, priors, and others, of any of the said orders regular:" but bishops, deans, &c. "all which Littleton here includeth under these general words *de saint eglise*—none of these are in law said to bee *homes de religion*, or religious." (Chap. vi. §133.) The reader will judge whether this definition (which is also that of the Glossaries) be not equally applicable in the former passage: it may be contended that the reason given by Littleton in the § quoted above (*pur ceo que il ad luy professe*, &c.) appears to favour the limited sense of the phrase in question: if this suggestion be admitted, the assertion of Lord Coke in the text will have no foundation so far as it relates to our present inquiry—the homage of Bishops. (Compare Fulbecke, *Conf.* p. 20, and see what is said in the conclusion of a passage from Frynne, quoted hereafter.)

Interpreter, refers to Skene as saying that consecrated bishops do no HOMAGE, but only fealty; "and yet," says the editor of Cowell, "we find the Archbishop of Canterbury do homage on his knees to our kings at their coronations."

The difficulty which is thus suggested might be further increased by citations from many antient as well as modern authorities¹⁴; but as our object is to clear and not to accumulate doubts, we will select only those passages which are most plain and explicit.

It will probably occur to the reader, that the question now raised concerning the homage of bishops might be solved by a reference to the debates concerning lay investiture, which so long existed between our Henry I. and the Roman See; the former persisting to demand, and the latter to forbid, the presentation to bishoprics by the temporal sovereign, and the consequent performance of homage on investiture. No solution of our present difficulty, however, will be gained by such an appeal:—the contest between the king and the pope was for the right of homage and fealty generally; the latter denying them both, under any form: and when in the end a compromise was made, the crown relinquishing its right of investiture, and the church acknowledging its duty of homage, this acknowledgement applied merely to the homage to be done by

¹⁴ In *The form of Charles I. his Coronation in Scotland*, folio, 1685, the archbishops and bishops are expressly said to kneel down to make their homage, their hands being betwixt the king's hands; but the oath is that of fealty, as in Sandford.

¹⁵ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 203.

bishops *before their consecration*; which is no rule for the feudal ceremonies performed by them after it.

"King Henry I." saith Mr Prynne, "though he were contented at last to part with his investitures to bishopricks and abbies, yet he would upon no terms exempt any bishops or abbots from the homage due unto him for their temporalities, after their elections and before their consecrations, nor from the oath of fealty; they always doing homage to him and his successors, at least wise before their consecrations, though seldom after them, and that in the selfsame form as laymen did (without omitting this clause I become your man) as appears by Glanvil, Bracton, &c. and 17 E. II. prescribing only one and the selfsame form of homage, as well to the clergy as laity, as well as the same oath of fealty, which they equally performed, though Littleton¹⁵ (and he alone) makes a difference between their forms of homage¹⁶."

This distinction between homage done before and after consecration is fully warranted by the old authors just cited; and their testimony is also of material importance to our general inquiry. The following are the words of Bracton:—" *Quis potest homagium facere? Et sciendum quod liber homo, tam masculus quam femina, clericus et laicus, major et minor; dum tamen electi in episcopos post con-*

¹⁵ Or rather Coke; see Note 13. Sir H. Spelman also conjectures a difference in the form of profession: but without an authority:—" *omnis, reor, in professionis formulâ verbis illis Deventio homo vester,*" &c. See his Glossary, in *Homagium*. The form of the 17 Edw. II. will be found in the Appendix, No. 10.

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 203.

*secrationem HOMAGIUM NON FACIUNT, quicquid fecerint ante, sed tantum fidelitatem*¹⁷." Glanville says "*Episcopi vero consecrati HOMAGIUM facere NON solent domino regi, etiam de baronibus suis: sed fidelitatem cum juramentis interpositis ipsi prestare solent. Electi vero in episcopos ante consecrationem suam homagia sua facere solent*¹⁸."

We will now turn to some other sources of information, which may show us what kind of feudal obligation was understood to exist between the crown and its prelatial tenants, and thereby enable us to judge of the ceremonies by which the obligation was created¹⁹. The most authentic and most important of these will be the *Writs of Summons to Parliament*. In these (as we observed in a former note²⁰) the precept to lay peers is always "*in fide et homagio quibus nobis tenemini*," or "*in homagio et ligeantia*;" whereas in writs to bishops the form is generally "*Vobis mandamus in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini*," and never "*in fide et homagio, or ligeantia*;" the words *homagium* and *ligeantia* being peculiar to temporal lords;—the conclusion from which of course must be that bishops, as such, were not bound in homage, and therefore could

¹⁷ Bracton, lib. ii. 4.

¹⁸ Glanville, lib. ix. cap. 1. See also the Constitutions of Clarendon (A. D. 1164) in Matthew Paris.

¹⁹ The practice of foreign nations respecting homage of bishops is sufficiently clear. See the various citations in Calvin, *Lex. Juris. v. Fidelitas*, p. 374, et *Homagium*, p. 415. "*Non sum ignarus*," saith Craig, "*nobilis illius controversia inter Fridericum Imp. et Pontificem Romanum, in qua fidelitatem prestare superbissimus Pontifex suae ecclesiasticæ domino suo Cesari permittit, non etiam hominum; prout ex eo tempore ecclesiasticæ personæ pro suis feudis tantum fidelitatem in tota*

never have performed its peculiar service after their consecration. This difference in the writs of summons is pointed out; with his wonted accuracy, by Mr Prynne²¹, and is the occasion of the historical digression concerning the investiture which I have just before quoted.

The evidence of history (or rather the writings of historians) will not be of much avail in our present inquiry; since in the language of condensed narration classes of persons and actions ascribed to them are frequently coupled together without discrimination; but the records and documents which they have preserved and reported, will furnish a few illustrations of the foregoing remarks not unworthy our attention. In the treaty of peace and agreement made between Henry II. and William king of Scotland, confirmed at York in the year 1175, it is agreed that all bishops, abbots, and clergy of the realm of Scotland, and their successors, shall do FEALTY to the king of England "*sicut alii episcopi sui ipsi facere solent*:" but that earls, barons, and the other *homines* of Scotland shall do HOMAGE and FEALTY "*sicut alii homines sui*"²².

In the 11th of Richard II. the commons having re-

Europa jurant, non etiam hominum." And further, "*Pontifices—ut alii dicunt hominum præstare non tenerentur.*"—Craig, *Jus Feud.* 2, 12.

²⁰ See page 319.

²¹ *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i. p. 114, 194, &c. It is also noticed (but without reference to Prynne) in Selden's *Titles of Honor*, p. 504.

²² Hoveden in *Script. post Bedam*, p. 311 b. See also Brady, vol. i. p. 323. Also from another source, as follows: "*Rex Scotiæ pacificus est cum rege Anglorum hoc modo; facit homagium et de omni terrâ sua—et concessit ei ut omnes episcopi et abbates hoc idem facerent. Episcopi vero et abbates homagium non fecerunt, sed sacramento se constrinxerunt.*"

quired: that the king should renew the oath taken at his coronation, we are told that this was done with great solemnity in the church of Westminster, and that at the same time the bishops swore FEALTY to the king, and the temporal lords did him HOMAGE²². To the same effect other passages might doubtless be found in the chronicles, but the collection of them is perhaps unnecessary. With respect to that class of authorities, which is more immediately connected with our subject, to wit ceremonies and accounts of coronations, the circumstance which I have elsewhere noticed of the homage having usually been received on a day following the coronation, will account for the absence, in most of these documents, of any particulars respecting the mode of performing it. But in the only ceremonial (except the modern ones of Ashmole and Sandford) which gives us any precise information on the subject, that of Richard II., I find the following very remarkable passage:—" *Et tunc dum iidem prelati et clerici circa sollemnitatem missæ occupati fuerunt, diversi domini et magnates homagium suum ligum prefato domino nostro regi faciebant,*" &c.²³

serunt hoc observaturos," &c.—Sigeo. Chron. See Calvin, *Lex. Jett. v. Homagium*. In the attestation of the Scotch submission, 24 Edw. I. I find "*tam super fidelitatibus episcoporum, abbatum, priorum, monialium et aliorum ecclesiarum prelatorum, quam super fidelitatibus et homagiis nob. virorum, comitum, &c. regni Scotie.*"—Atwood, *Sup. Gr. Eng.* p. 82.

²² Cotton's *Records*, p. 326. Brady, vol. ii. p. 390.

²³ Rymer, vol. vii. p. 157.

²⁴ In a ms. ceremonial of the time of Henry VI. are the following notices of the act in question, which appear to fall in with the

The ceremonies of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. are singularly inexplicit as to the mode of doing homage²⁶; but the words are the same as in our present formularies, those assigned to the bishops being the oath of fealty—*Yé shall swear, &c.* and those for the temporal lords being the profession of homage—I become your man, &c. The homage at the coronation of Edward VI. (if it may be judged of from the orders which are to be found in print) was a confused mixture of the words and ceremonies of homage and fealty, given to spiritual and temporal peers without distinction.

On the whole it appears that whatever may have been the usage of later reigns, the doing of homage by bishops was not a practice of antiquity²⁶. At what time, or in what manner, their profession of fealty took its present form, I am still unable to determine²⁷: but as few if any directions or examples for the correct performance of these ceremonies have come down to us from the times when the feudal institutions were in their full vigour, it may not be thought unlikely that some unintended deviations from former practice may have been made when their history was yet unexamined, but their spirit already extinct.

modern usage, but are somewhat obscure, like these mentioned above.
"Prælati et alii facient homagium. Item statim postea faciant prælati et magnates fidelitatem suam et homagium ligeum domino regi," &c.
"Et memorand. quod archiepiscopus Cantuar. primus faciet homagium regi et fidelitatem in coronacione sua, et postea alii prælati et proceres regni, quilibet in suo gradu."—*MS. Cott. Nero, C ix. p. 165 b.*

²⁶ As a concluding reference, see Reeves's *Hist. of the English Law*, i. p. 125.

²⁷ It does not appear that the point which is examined above was in any way brought under discussion at the time of the Reformation;

We shall conclude our present remarks with some account of the Kiss of Homage. Mr Selden observes that "kissing the feet hath been used in Europe at the doing of homage upon investitures received from great princes, as we see in that of Rollo or Robert first duke of Normandy receiving the dutchy from Charles the Simple, and such more; though in later ages and at this day the kiss in homage be on the cheek or lips." In what is said before, the learned author deduces the several customs of kissing the hands, feet, and lips from the Roman empire and the eastern nations, and thus connects with these the kiss which is given in homage. I should rather incline, however, to derive it from the practice of the Christian church than from usages of heathen antiquity; and to consider it as essentially distinct from those "testimonies of serviceable love" which are still preserved in the formality of courts: indeed, with the exception of that strange story of Duke Rollo²⁸ I know of no authority in any age or country for the kiss of homage being given to the hands or feet. Like the *Osculum pacis* in the service of the church it was doubtless intended as a token of union and agreement, not of reverence and submission; and hence we find the very name employed in connexion with the act of homage²⁹. Mr Selden adds the following remarkable fact: "The kiss of homage is so essential also, that the homage hath not enough

nor do the statutes of Henry VIII. which alter the mode of constituting bishops make any change in the services which result from their baronial tenures. It may indeed be assumed, that if any innovation was made at this period by legislative authority in the homage of bishops, it would have been noticed by Coke and other writers when treating expressly upon the subject.

it seems of what is legal without it; for in the time of Henry VI. a great plague being about London, a bill was put up in parliament to ordain and grant (so are the words of the roll) by the autoritie of this present parliament that everiche of your said lieges in the doing of their said homage may omit the said kissing of you and be excused thereof (at your will the homage being of the same force as though they kissed you), and have their letters of doing their homage, the kissing of you omitted notwithstanding.—And the bill having passed both houses, the subscription is *Le roy le voet*, as the usual words of his consent are²⁰.”

There are few antient forms which would admit of more copious illustration than those which are now before us; but as I have dwelt so long upon the manner of their being administered, I shall only select one clause in the Bishops' oath as most requiring notice.

“*And truly acknowledge.*”—The necessity for requiring the acknowledgement as well as the full performance of services due to the lord, arose probably from the reluctance of this class of tenants to assist in duties so un congenial with their habit and character, as well as from a general relaxation of feudal discipline. “It grew to be usual among tenants,” says a learned author, “to refuse the pecuniary payments or the scutages to which they were liable;

²⁰ See Camden, *Britt. in Norman.* and Maseres, *Hist. Ang. Sel. Mon.*

²¹ King John “*cepit homagia de omnibus hominibus liberis tenentibus, et etiam duodecim annorum pueris, quos omnes post fidelitatem factam in osculum pacis recepit et dimisit.*”—M. Paris, *sub an.* 1209.

²² *Titles of Honor*, p. 31; see also the 4to. edition, p. 38-43.

they denied the number of their fees; they alleged that the charge demanded of them was not justified by their charters; and while the prince was ready to march against an enemy, it was not convenient to look into records and registers³¹." The caution which gave rise to this clause in the prelates' oath was probably not equally necessary with regard to the military vassals, and the same expression does not appear to have been adopted in their conjoined profession of homage and fealty, though something like it will be found in the antient oath as given by Bracton: "*Hoc audis Domine N., quod fidem vobis portabo de vita et membris corpore et cattallis et terreno honore, sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia. Et quidam hoc adjiciunt in sacramento, et bene, quod fideliter, et sine diminutione, contradictione, vel impedimento et dilatione injusta terminis statutis faciet servitium suum domino suo et hæreditibus suis.*"

³¹ Stuart's *Discourse* prefixt to Sullivan's *Lectures*, &c. p. xx. The following is a remarkable illustration of our subject: "*Ego Willhelmus de Cholecherche debeo domino meo Henrico regi servitium dimidii militis in Nortfolc. de antiquo tenemento à conquestu Angliæ. Nolo enim ut servitium meum CESSARET, quia fecerim quod facere debeo, et homagium feci vobis ó Domine et meo domino Henrico filio vestro, et vesteris viccomitibus servitium feci.*"—*Liber Niger*, p. 289.

P. 209.—*Antient Rituals.*

PERHAPS there is no inquiry connected with our subject attended with more difficulty in its solution, than that which respects the original of our present formulary of religious service for the consecration of kings:—In what age—in what country—and by what author was it first composed? Nor is it necessary for our present purpose to enter upon an inquiry demanding so much research and study: with a view however to make the reader acquainted with the rituals principally referred to in the foregoing pages, I shall offer in the present Note such observations as the use of them has suggested.

Beside the several orders of ceremony which have been drawn up in various ages for the use of particular kingdoms, there are two general authorities for the ritual of coronations which are appealed to in all inquiries upon the subject. Of these, the first, as being the most antient, is that contained in the *Ordo Romanus antiquus de divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis*. This interesting and most venerable document is supposed to have been compiled about the year 800, when a more perfect service of the church, together with the Gregorian chant, was introduced into the western kingdoms of Europe¹, and at the very time when

¹ "Quemadmodum quo sit auctore conscriptus hic libellus difficile dictu fuerit, ita antiquissimum esse, argumenta non sunt longè petenda. Et mihi quidem aliquando visum fuit à magistris Romanæ Ecclesiæ tum esse conscriptum, cum Stephano pontifice, et Pipino primum, deinde Carolo Magno procurante, divina officia Romana cum Romano cantu in Galliam suis introducta."—M. Hittorp. *Pref. ad Bibl. Pat.* tom. x.

the ceremonies of unction and coronation are first known to have been in use. The second of these public formularies is to be found in the *Pontificale Romanum*, or ceremonial of the Church of Rome, which hath at different times been printed with the sanction of the Holy See, and remains in authority with the churches in its communion. With regard however to those ceremonies which are the subject of our present attention, it appears that the former ritual has never been entirely superseded by the latter, but that both in the Empire and in France, and elsewhere, the service hath continued to be performed agreeably (in most respects) to the *Ordo Romanus*.

But it is not to be assumed that the *Ordo Romanus* was the only source from which our service was derived. The material deviations from it in the ceremonials both of France and England, and the great antiquity of those of the latter country, will warrant us in supposing that some other authority was applied to in composing them; and it will be no unfounded conjecture if we add that the first ceremonial of France was received from the shores of Britain. In the progress of this work, reference hath often been made to the service book supposed to have been used by Saint Dunstan at the coronation of Æthelred II. in the year 978. This, which is the most antient English ritual, is also probably the oldest that any nation can produce for the inauguration of its kings. On comparing it with those of

¹ *Titles of Honor*, part I. ch. 8. v.

² There are two other passages in the service which suggest collation: one in the prayer on delivering the sceptre, "*Honorificis cum præ cunctis regibus Britannia:*" the other in the Benediction,

France of different ages, we shall find that though the latter have received considerable additions of ceremony, yet that they contain nearly the whole of what is in the former: to this general proof of their community of origin, I shall now add those additional ones which will confirm the statement made above. "However it came to pass," says Mr Selden, who had taken notice of the circumstance, "the next prayer that precedes the unction in it was not only without question taken out of some Saxon ceremonial, and is almost the same that is before shew'd out of the Saxon *Pontificale*, but also it retains still here the very syllables that denote the English-Saxon kings by the names of their own territories; as of Mercia, of Northumberland, of the Saxons. The negligence or forgetfulness that left these names in it were almost incredible if we saw it not²."

The prayer referred to by our author is that which begins "*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*;" the passage is that which in our copy reads as follows—" *ut regale solium, videlicet Anglorum, vel Saxonum, sceptro non deserat*:" in the French however it is "*ut regale solium, videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanchimbrorum, sceptra non deserat*;" which is still the more remarkable, inasmuch as the variation shows it to have been taken from another, and probably even a more antient service than that of the time of Æthelred².

As the inestimable remain of which we are speaking will

"*Sanctique Gregorii Anglorum apostoli, atque omnium Sanctorum intercedentibus meritis.*" These in the French service are changed respectively to "*regibus terræ*," and "*Sanctique Dionisii atque omnium*," &c. or "*Dyonisii atque beati Romigii*," &c.

have a prominent place in our Appendix, I shall add some further particulars of the manuscript from which it is taken. The Anglo-Saxon Coronation Service (which is new for the first time printed entire) is bound up with a number of other antient writings of the same class in a volume of the Cottonian collection markt Claudius A. iii. It is written in a fair hand, and is well preserved, the whole being comprised in ten leaves or twenty pages. Selden, who has given large extracts from it in different parts of his *Titles of Honor*, describes it as "the fragment of a Pontifical;" he also speaks of it as "a piece of a ceremonial:" from what follows, however, it will be seen that although but a portion of the original book, so far as the coronation service goes it is nearly a perfect ritual⁴. The first page of the manuscript is unfortunately covered by a picture of St Dunstan pasted over it; but by a careful examination I have been able to restore so much of this page as supplies the beginning of the service. It then goes on as far as to the prayer which follows the anointing: "here," Mr Selden observes, "some leaves of the manuscript are lost:" the deficiency, however, is evidently of one leaf only, and the service is then continued without interruption nearly to the end of the Mass, the last leaf being also wanting.

In the same volume, next after the ceremonial of Æthelred⁵, is another antient coronation service, frequently

⁴ In a different place in the volume is another part of the same Pontifical, containing the consecration of abbots, &c.

⁵ It must not be forgotten that Mr. Turner has given to the public a translation of this Ceremonial in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

quoted in this work, which is ascribed to the age of Henry I. It appears to correspond more nearly with the *Ordo Romanus* in the arrangement of the prayers. As it would be impossible in the present manual to continue a history and collation of all the rituals existing in our libraries, we shall here dismiss the subject, satisfied to have at least perpetuated one of so venerable an antiquity.

On the next pages the Reader will find a Synoptical Table, containing the order of the Prayers and Anthems in two of the antient and two of the modern rituals, from which their general conformity will more readily appear.

Liber Regalis. Ric. II.

Protector noster aspice Deus.

RECOGNITION.

A. Firmetur manus.

FIRST OBLATION.

Deus humilium visitator.

SERMON.

OATH.

Veni Creator.

Te invocamus.

LITANY.

Omnipotens sempiternus.

Benedic Domine.

Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi.

Deus qui populus.

Deus electorum fortitudo.

ANOINTING.

A. Unxerunt Salomonem.

Prospice Omnipotens.

Deus Dei filius.

Deus qui es justorum.

INVESTITURE.

Deus rex regum.

Exaudi quæsumus.

CROWNING.

Deus tuorum corona fidelium.

Coronet te Deus.

Deus perpetuitatis.

Confortare, et esto vir.

A. Deus in virtute. [dñor.

Deus cælestium terrestriumq; con-

Benedic, Domine, anulum.

Deus cujus est omnis.

Omnium Domine fons bonorum.

Benedicat tibi Dominus.

Te Deum laudamus.

Sta et retine.

INTHRONING.

QUEEN'S CORONATION.

Deus qui solus habes.

Omnipotens sempiternus.

Deus cujus est omnis.

Deus tuorum corona.

Omnium Domine fons.

COMMUNION.

A. Protector noster.

A. Digitatur Domine.

Munera quæsumus.

SECOND OBLATION.

A. Intende orationi.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi.

Benedic Domine.

A. Intellige clamorem.

Præsta quæsumus.

Lêle Devise, Hen. VII.

Omnipotens sempiternus.

RECOGNITION.

FIRST OBLATION.

Deus humilium.

SERMON.

OATH.

Veni Creator.

Te invocamus.

LITANY.

Omnipotens sempiternus.

Benedic Domine.

Deus ineffabilis.

Deus qui populus.

ANOINTING.

A. Unxerunt Salomonem.

Prospice Omnipotens.

A. Domine in virtute tua.

Deus Dei filius.

Deus qui es justorum.

INVESTITURE.

Deus rex regum.

Exaudi Domine.

CROWNING.

Deus tuorum.

Coronet te Deus.

Deus perpetuitatis.

Confortare, et esto vir.

A.

Deus cujus est, &c.

Omnium Domine fons bonorum.

Benedicat tibi Deus.

Te Deum laudamus.

Sta et retine.

INTHRONING.

QUEEN'S CORONATION.

Deus qui solus habes.

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus.

Deus cujus est.

Deus tuorum.

Omnium Domine.

COMMUNION.

A. Protector noster.

A. Dirigatur.

Munera quæsumus.

SECOND OBLATION.

A. Intende voc.

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus.

Benedic Domine.

A. Intellige.

Præsta quæsumus.

ASHMOLE, Ch. II.

A. I was glad when, &c.
RECOGNITION.

A. Let thy hand.

FIRST OBLATION.

O God, who dost visit.

SERMON.

THE OATH.

Come, Holy Ghost.

We beseech thee, O Lord.

LITANY.

Alm. & everl. God, creator of all.

God, the unspeakable.

God which provid. for thy people

O Lord, holy father.

AN OINTING.

Sadoc the priest.

Look down, almighty God.

God the son of God.

God which art the glory.

INVESTITURE.

O God, the king of kings.

Hear our prayers, we beseech thee.

CROWNING.

God, the crown of the faithful.

God crown thee.

O God of eternity.

Be strong and of good courage.

A. The king shall rejoice.

Bless, O Lord, this ring.

O God, to whom belongeth.

O Lord, the fountain.

The Lord bless thee.

We praise thee, O God.

Stand and hold fast.

INTHRONING.

COMMUNION.

A. Behold, O Lord our defender.

A. Let my prayer come up.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee.

SECOND OBLATION.

Alm. God give thee the dew.

Bless, O Lord, the virt. carriage.

A. O hearken unto the voice.

SANDFORD, Jas. II.

A. I was glad when, &c.
RECOGNITION.

A. Let thy hand.

FIRST OBLATION.

O God, who dwellest.

LITANY.

Alm. & everl. God, cr. of all things.

O God, who providest.

SERMON.

THE OATH.

A. Comè, Holy Ghost.

We beseech thee, O Lord.

O Lord, holy father.

AN OINTING.

A. Zadoc the priest.

God the son of God.

A. Behold, O Lord.

INVESTITURE.

O God, king of kings & lord of lds.

Hear our prayers, we beseech thee.

CROWNING.

O God, the crown of the faithful.

God crown thee.

O eternal God, king of kings.

Be strong and of good courage.

A. The king shall rejoice.

SECOND OBLATION.

The Lord bless thee.

We praise thee, O God.

Stand firm.

INTHRONING.

A. God spake sometimes.

QUEEN'S CORONATION.

Almighty and everlasting God.

Almighty and everlasting God.

O Lord, the fountain.

A. My heart is inditing.

Assist us mercifully.

With regard to the modern service appropriated to this august solemnity, there is one particular which I cannot pass without at least a cursory notice. The immortal compositions of HANDEL have formed an *era* in the history of our subject as well as in that of musical science. His celebrated Anthems were produced for the coronation of George II. in the year 1727; they are the following:—

“Let thy hand be strengthened.”

“Zadoc the priest.”

“The king shall rejoice.”

“My heart is enditing.”

Handel, however, is not the only great musician whose pen has been employed on such occasions. For the coronation of James II. PURCELL composed “I was glad” and “My heart is enditing;” Dr BLOW “Behold, o Lord,” and “God spake sometimes;” Dr CHILD⁶ the *Te Deum*; HENRY LAWES “Zadoc the priest,” and TURNER “The king shall rejoice.”

In the *Cathedral Magazine* there is an anthem “Behold, o Lord,” by RAYLTON; and “O Lord, grant the king,” by Dr CROFT, may be found in the *Musica Sacra*.

⁶ The three last named, together with Dr Stagins, were among the bases who sang in the performance. Dr Blow, as organist to the king, had five yards of scarlet cloth for his mantle.—Sandford.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

No. 1.

Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*, ed. 1640, p. 197.

Coronatio Regis Johannis.

[1199] **P**ER idem tempus dux Normanniæ Joannes transfretavit in Angliam, et apud ~~Dorham~~ applicuit octavo kalendas Junii; et in crastino in vigilia videlicet Dominicæ Ascensionis, Londonias venit, ibidem coronandus. Congregatis itaque in adventu ejus archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus, atque aliis omnibus qui ejus coronationi interesse debuerant, archiepiscopus stans in medio omnium dixit “Audite universi. Noverit discretio vestra quòd nullus prævia ratione alii succedere habet regnum, nisi ab universitate regni unanimiter, invocatâ Spiritus gratiâ, electus, et secundum morum suorum eminentiam præelectus, ad exemplum et similitudinem Saul primi regis inuncti, quem præposuit Dominus populo suo, non regis filium, nec de regali stirpe procreatum. Similiter post eum David Jessæ filium; hunc, quia strenuum et aptum dignitati regiæ, illum quia sanctum et humilem. Ut sic qui cunctos in regno supereminet strenuitate, omnibus præsit et potestate et regimine. Verùm si quis ex stirpe regis defuncti aliis præpolleret, proniùs et promptiùs in electionem ejus est consentiendum. Hæc idcirco dixi.

mus, pro inclyto comite Johanne, qui præsens est, frater illustrissimi regis nostri Richardi jam defuncti, qui hærede caruit ab eo egrediente, qui providus et strenuus et manifestè nobilis, quem nos, invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, ratione tam meritorum quam sanguinis regis unanimiter elegimus universi." Erat autem archiepiscopus vir profundi pectoris; et in regno singularis columna stabilitatis et sapientiae incomparabilis. Nec ausi erant alii super his adhuc ambigere; scientes quòd sine causa hoc non sic diffiniverat. Verum comes Joannes et omnes hoc acceptabant; ipsumque comitem in regem eligentes et assumentes, exclamant dicentes, Vivat Rex. Interrogatus autem postea archiepiscopus Hubertus quare hæc dixisset, respondit se præsagâ mente conjecturare, et quibusdam oraculis edoctum et certificatum fuisse, quòd ipse Johannes regnum et coronam Angliæ foret aliquando corrupturus, et in magnam confusionem præcipitaturus. Et ne haberet liberas habenas hoc faciendi, ipsum electione, non successione hæreditaria, eligi debere affirmabat.

APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

No. 1.

Ricardus Sporley¹ *de Fundatione, &c. Eccl. West.*
MS. Cott. Claud. A viii.

Opus breviter compilatum de diversis Reliquiis huic
 Ecclesiæ collatis, &c.

SANCTUS Edwardus rex et confessor ad memoriam futurorum, et pro dignitate regie coronæ omnia regalia ornamenta in ecclesia hac reservari precepit cum quibus ipse coronatus fuit, viz tunicam, supertunicam, armillam, zonam, paleum brudatum, par caligarum, par cerotecarum, sceptrum aureum, unam ligneam virgam deauratam, alteram ferream. Item coronam auream optimam, unum pectinem aureum et coeliar. Item pro coronæ Regine coronam et duas virgas. Item pro corōne dñi Regis coronæ unum calicem lapidis onichini cum pete ligaturis, et patena de auro optimo, quæ omnia pro reliquiis preciosis habeantur. Dōpnus Laurencius quondam abbas hujus loci de tribus pannis in quibus idem Sanctus requievit in sepulcro tres capas brudatas fieri jussit. Sed et anulum ejusdem quem Sancto Johanni Evang' quondam tradidit, qui et ipse de Paradiso remisit, elapsis duobus et dimidio, postea in nocte translacōis dedigito regio tulit, et pro miraculo in loco isto custodiri jussit.

¹ Floruit circa annum 1450.

No. 2.

Hen. VI. an. 8. 1429. *Bibl. Cot. Cleop. Fiv.* Rymer, tom. x. p. 436.

De Ampulla Benedicta.

Sexto die Novembris anno viij. apud Westmonasterium concordatum et concessum fuit quod fiat warantum, directum Thesaurario et Camerariis de Scaccario, de liberando Johanni Merston, custodi jocalium domini Regis, aquilam auream cum ampulla, qua Reges consecrari solebant, ad cas salvò et securè ad opus Regis custodiendas.

No. 3.

Hen. VI. an. 8. 1430. *Bibl. Cot. Cleop. F iv.* Rymer, tom. x. 455.

De Jocalibus invadiandis pro plegio Coronæ Regis, et de Pursevanto facto.

Decimo sexto die Aprilis anno octavo, apud Cantuariam, concessum et concordatum fuit quod fiat warantum Thesaurario et Camerariis de Scaccario Regis ad invadiandum certa jocalia ipsius Regis pro plegio cujusdam coronæ, per Thesaurarium Angliæ mutuandæ de Abbate et Conventu Westmonasterii pro Rege, et ad habendum dictam coronam secum usque partes Franciæ in custodiâ Johannis Merston.

Item, aliud waraptum Johanni Merston, pro uno cippo de argento deaurato, sine cooperculo, chaceato, ponderis x. unciarum, dato uno Francisco de Parisiis, facto apud Cantuariam pursevant per dominum nostrum Regem, et per ipsum nominato **Lobte**, in festo Paschæ.

APPENDIX TO BOOK III.

No. 1.

Ex Rotulo Serviciorum factorum Dño Regi HENRICO Quarto, &c. remanen. infra Turrim London. MS. Cotton. Vespas. C xiv. p. 133.

ECCELLENTISSIMO principi, &c. EDUARDO¹ Dei gra' Regi Angliæ, &c. sui devot' Thesaur' et Baron' de Scaccario suo obsequium, &c. Mandatum vestrum sub magno sigillo vestro consig' recepimus in hæc verba.—EDWARDUS D. G. Rex, &c. Thes' et Baron' suis de Scaccario salutem. Supplicavit nobis dilectus et fidelis noster Rob' de Monte Alto, per petitionem suam coram nobis et consilio nostro in presenti parliamentò nostro exhibitam, quod cum Hugo de Dawbney nuper comes Arundel tenuisset maneria de ~~Stenninghale~~, ~~Dontrham~~, ~~Wille-~~
~~montham~~, et ~~Buchingham~~ in com' Norf' de dño Henrico² quondam rege Angliæ, proavo nostro, per servicium essendi Pincerna dicti proavi nostri et hered' suorum regum Angliæ diebus coronationis ipsorum regum, Et licet dicta maneria de ~~A.~~ et ~~B.~~ ad prefatum Robertum, et predicta maneria de ~~W.~~ et ~~B.~~, de servicio predicto onerata, ad heredes Rob'ti de Tateshale, qui adhuc infra etatem exist', ut dicitur, jure hered' devenerint, Et idem Robertus die coronationis dñi Edwardi³ nuper regis Angliæ, patris nostri, ad servicium predictum facere pro parte sua se optulisset, Edmundus tamen

¹ Edw. III.² Henr. III.³ Edw. II.

nuper com' Arundel per potentiam suam prefatum Robertum quo minus dictum servitium die predicto facere potuit impedivit, et servitium illud eodem die, quanquam terras seu tenementa aliqua que de servitio predicto onerantur nullatenus tenuisset, fecit; Velimus ipsum Robertum ad servitium predictum ad instantem coronationem nostram facere admitti jubere, dicto impedimento non obstante, Nos, cerciorari volentes que maneria terre et ten'ta de servitio predicto onerantur, et qui maneria illa modo tenent, et qualiter et quo modo, Vobis mandamus quod scrutat' et memorand' premissa tangent' que in Scaccario predicto resident, ut dicitur, de eo quod inde inveneritis nos et consilium nostrum in instanti parlamento nostro sub sigill' Scaccarii nostri distincte et aperte certificetis, ut alter fieri faciat quod in hac parte fuerit faciendum. Teste meipso apud Westm' xx. die Januarii, anno regni nostri primo.

SUPER quo scire vellet vestra dominacio regia quod scrut' fec' memorand' Scaccarij vestri predicti et comperimus quoddam memorandum de coronatione regine Elinore filie H. com' Provincie, ubi annotantur ista verba: Ea die, viz coronationis ejusdem regine, de officio Pincerne servivit comes Warrenne vice Hugonis de Albiniaco com' Arundell, ad quem spectat illud officium; fuit autem dictus comes eo tempore sententia excommunicationisatus a Cantuar' eo quod, &c.—Et quoad servitium non invenimus aliud. Et quoad terras et tenementa que de predicto servitio onerantur nihil aliud comperimus, nisi quod Robertus de Monte Alto, unus participum hered' com' Arundel, cognovit quod tenuit de dicto avo vestro in cap' manerium de ~~Steninghale~~ in com' Norf' quod habuit in purpartem suam de hereditate que fuit pred' com' Arundel per serianciam essendi Pincerna regis; Et quod Rob' de Tateshale, alter participum hered' dicti

com' Arundel, cognovit quod tenuit de eodem avo vestro maneria de ~~Wimondham~~ et ~~Buckenham~~ in com' pred' que habuit in parpartem suam de hereditate per seraunciam predictam, que maneria de ~~Wimondham~~ et ~~Buckenham~~ heredes pred' Rob' de Tateshal modo tenent; Et dicta maneria de ~~Benninghale~~ adhuc tenet dict' Rob' de Monte Alto, ut dicitur; sed de dicto manerio de ~~Snretsham~~ nihil inveniunt ad presens. Valeat dñatio vestra per tempora diuturna.

Script' apud ~~Westm~~ xij. Feb. Brevia Regis aº i. Ed. [III.]

No. 2.

Inter Recorda Curie Cancellarie in Turri Londoniensi adservata, scilicet Inquisitiones post Mortem de anno regni 7^{mo} Regis EDWARDI post Conquestum Tertij, No 33, sic continetur.

LINCOLN'. Inquisitio capta apud ~~Bottham~~ in com' Lincoln' coram Matheo Brun escaetore dñi Regis, die Veneris prima post festum Scti Mathie Apostoli anno regni Regis Edwardi Tercij post Conquestum septimo, vidz &c.—per sacramentum &c. Qui dicunt per sacramentum suum quod Cecilia filia Willielmi Bolle de ~~Stwynethred~~ tenuit in dñico suo ut de feodo die quo obiit duas partes unius placee terre in ~~Conyngetby~~ de dño Rege in capite ut de corona ut parcellam manerij de ~~Skribetby~~; quod tenetur de dño Rege in capite per magnam serjantiam, videl' ad inveniendum die coronacónis dñi Regis qui pro tempore fuerit unum militem eques' armatum ad probandum per corpus suum, si necesse fuerit, versus quemcunque quod dñs Rex qui coronatus est illo die est verus et rectus heres regni; et valent per annum predictæ due partes viij*d.* &c. In cujus rei testimonium predicti jurati presenti Inquis' sigilla sua apposuerunt.

Inter Recorda Curie Cancellarie in Turri London' asservata, scilicet in Rotulo Litterarum Clausarum de anno regni Regis RICARDI Secundi primo, memb. 45.

PROCESSUS factus ad coronacõem dñi Regis Anglie Ricardi Secundi, &c. C'est la demande que Johan Dymmok chivaler demaunde, &c.—Cest assavoir que le Roi lui face avoir le vielle de son coronement un des bons destrers que le Roi eit, ov le sele et ove toutz les harnys bien covert de feer ensemement ove toutz les armès q'appendent au corps le Roi, aussi entierment come le Roi mesmes le duist avoir sil dust aler en un bataill mortell. En ycell maner que le dit Johan doit venir arme de mesmes les armes et mountere mesme le destrer bien covert le jour de son coronement et chivacher devant le Roi al procession, et doit dire et crier al poeple trois foitz joint en audiepcce devant tout le monde que sil y a null hōme haut ou bas que dedire voille que son seign^r liege Sire Richard cosyn et heir le Roi d'Engleterre Edward que darrein morust ne devie estre Roi d'Engleterre coronne qil est prest par son corps a darrenier maintenant qil ment come faus et come trefre ou [et] a quell jour que lein lui asserra. Et si nulle le dedie et il face darrein p^e le roi le chival ove toutz les harneis lui demeurea come son droit et son fee. Et si nulle le dedie tanqz come la procession dure apres la tierce heure maintenant apres la procession et que le Roi soit enoiant et coronne desoend' et soi desarme et puis soit a la volunte le Roi si le destere et les armes lui doivent demeurer ou noun.

*E Rotulo Serviciorum in die Coronationis Regis HENRICI
Quarti.*

BALDEWINUS de Frevill chivaler clamat venire ad coronacionem dñi Regis armis regis de liberacione Regis universa-
liter armatus, super principalem dextrarium regum sedens,
offerens se ad probacionem pro Rege faciendam contra omnes
coronacionem Regis contradicentes, cui si nullus contradixe-
rit sint arma et equus dñi Regis, si autem aliquis se apponat et
congressum fecerit remanebunt arma et equus predicto Bal-
dewino, &c.

Ex. Autogr. MS. Cott. Vespas. C xiv. p. 119.

Le Roy voet q' le consayl trete ougue le Suplyaunt
de cest mater, et q' yl ayt ce q' resoun demande.

A tres excellent et tresredoubte S^r n're S^r le Roy.

(Ric. 2.)

SUPPLIE tres humblement v're vief Margarete iadis la feme
Mons' Joh'n Dymmok chiualer q' Dieu assoille q' cōme le
dit Monss' Joh'n tenoit de vous mon tres gracieuse S^r le
manoir de ~~Scryuclby~~ come del droit du dit Margarete per
le service destre arme le jour de v're coronement et destre
prest pour defendre per son corps si ascun vouldra dedire
v're roial mageste, pour quell service il [doit] avoir certains
fees et regards, cestassavoir le mellieur destr' oue trappure
et le mellieur armure du Roy forespris un, cōme sez aun-
cestres ont ev deuant ses hoeurs. Pour queux fees et re-
gards le dit Monss' Joh'n pours.... a v're roial mageste et
v're tressage counseill long temps en sa vie, pour quel pour-
suyt et autres costages qil auoit a v're coronem't le dit ...
John estoit endette le darrein iour de sa vie pluis q' CC.
marc' a graunde arrierisement du dite suppliante son execu-

trice si ele na v're tres gracionse eide, Que plesse a v're roial mageste graunter a v're d'ce vief et perpetuele oratrice les fees suisditz ou pour eulx resonable regarde q' le droit de sez heirs ne soit pas blesse par discontinuance de fees suisdits, et ce pour Dieu et en ooure de charite.

Le Counte de Huntyngdon.

Ex Autogr. MS. Cotton. Vesp. C xiv. p. 119.

HENRI, &c. A n're ame clerck Robert Rolleston, gardein de n're grande garderobe, saluz. Monstrez ad a nous et a n're counsail n're ame esquier Phillipp Dymmok coment ses auncestres dont memoire ne court ont este accustumes de faire certains services es solemnpitees de les coronacions de noz nobles progenitours Roys dengleterre avant ses heures, Assavoir destre arme le jour de la coronacōn et mount sur un dextre, et outre ce faire et exerc' tout ce que as ditz services appertient, preignantz les fees a ycelles accustumes; Si nous de lavis et assent de n're counsail volons et vous mandons qencountre le iour de n're coronacōn facez ordener trappures et autres choses en ce cas accustumes et les deliv'er au dit Philipp par mañe cōme il ad este deliv'e a ses auncestres as grandes garderobes de noz ditz progenitours encontre tiele solempnitee avant ses heures. Et volons qe cestes noz lettres vous en soient garraunt, et q' par ycelles vous en aiez due allowance en v're aconte. Donn' &c. le quart iour de Novembre lan de n're regne oytisme. Sembl'es l'res (mutatis mutandis) soient faites au mai-
str' de noz chivalx pur faire deliv'ance dun dextr'.
Item une autre l're au sergent de n're armurie, pur
lui deliv'er armure per mañe, &c.

J. Typtot.

H. Gloucestre.	J. Ebor. Canc.	T. Dunelm.
W. London.	J. Bathon.	Scrop.

No. 3.

Pet. in Parl. an. 11 Ed. III. Fragm. Antiq. p. 121.

A NOSTRE seignour le Roy et a son conseil monstre Richard de Bettoyne de Loundres, qe come au coronement nostre seignour le Roy q'ore est, il adonque meire de Londres fesoit l'office de Botiller ovè cccix vadletz vestuz d'une sute, chescun portant en sa maine un coupe blanche d'argent, come autres meirs de Londres ount faitz as coronementz des progenitours nostre seignour le Roy, dont memorie ne court, et le fee q'appendoit a cel jorne, cest a savoir un coupe d'or ove la covercle, et un ewer d'or enamaille, lui fust livere per assent du counte de Lancastre et d'autres grantz qu'adonques y furent du conseil nostre seignour le Roy, per la maine Sire Robert de Wodehouse: et ore vient en estreite as viscountes de Londres hors del Chekker de faire lever des biens et chateux du dit Richard lxxxixl. xiiis. vid. pur le fee avantdit, dont il prie que remedie lui soit ordeyne. Et le meire et les citeyns d'Oxenford ount, per point de chartre, quils vendront a Londres a l'encoronement d'eyder le meire de Londres pur servir a la fest, et toutz onnt usee. Et si il plect a nostre seignour le Roy et a son conseil, nous payerons volenters le fee, issent que nous soyoms descharges de la service.

No. 4.

Ex Rott. Claus. an. 1 Edw. II. MS. Cot. Vespas. C xiv. p. 122. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 63. A.D. 1308.

Coronatio Regis et forma ejus Juramenti.

MEMORANDUM quod die dominica proxima post festum Sc'i Petri in Cathedra, anno Dñi millesimo trecentesimo septimo, anno videlicet bisextili, concurrente litera Dominicali

F, coronatus fuit in regem et inunctus dñs Edwardus filius regis Edwardi, anno regni sui primo, in ecclesia beati Petri Westmonasterii ante magnum altare per manus venerabilis patris Henrici Wintoniensis episcopi, cui venerabilis pater Robertus archiepiscopus Cantuar', tunc agens in partibus transmarinis, commiserat, quoad hoc, vices suas; Et prelati, comites, et alii nobiles subscripti deferebant insignia regalia infra-scripta; videlicet Willielmus Marescallus portavit calcaria magna deaurata. Post eum veniebant comes Hereford portans sceptrum regale, in cuius summitate erat crux; Henricus de Lancaster portans virgam regalem in cuius summitate erat columba: post eos venerunt comes Lancastrie, comes Lincolnie, et comes Warwici, portantes tres gladios: et gladium qui vocatur Curtana portavit comes Lancastrie. Postea portabatur unum scaccarium magnum super quod erant vestes regales, quod portabant comes Arundell, Thomas de Veer, filius et hæres comitis Oxon', Hugo le Despenser, et Rogerus de Mortuo Mari de Wigmore. Postea sequebatur Thesaurarius regis portans patenam de calice Sti Edwardi: deinde venit Cancellarius regis portans ipsum calicem. Deinde venit Petrus de Gaveston comes Cornubiæ portans coronam regalem, deinde sequebatur ipse coronandus. Et cum venisset Rex ad magnum altare optulit super illud unam libram auri. Et fuerunt verba regis in coronacōne predicta sub juramento prestita ut patet in cedula annexa, &c.

No. 5.

*Ex Lib. Rub. Scacc. an. 20 Hen. III.—MS. Cott.
Vesp. C xiv. p. 113.*

De officio Pincernarum servivit ea die comes Warrenniæ vice Hugonis de Albiniaci comitis de Arondell, ad quem

illud officium spectat. Servivit autem sub eodem in latere suo Magister MICHAEL BELET, cujus est illud officium secundarium ut teneat cuppam porrigendam comiti de Arondell vino refertam cum Rex exigerit, ut comes eandem regi porrigat. Habet enim Magister Michael pincernariam in domo Regis, sub comite, de jure veteri. Andreas autem major civitatis London, qui ibidem venerat ad serviend' de pincernaria cum 360 cuppis, eo quod civitas London servire tenetur de pincernaria in auxilio majoris Pincernæ, sicuti ut civitas Wintoniæ de coquina in auxilium Senescalli, vendicavit locum Magistri Michaelis astandi coram Rege. Sed repulsus fuit præcepto Regis, dicentis quod nullus de jure ibi debet servire nisi Magister Michael. Et ita concessit major, et ita servivit duobus episcopis a dextris Regis. Peracto autem prandio recepit comes cuppam Regis de qua servierat tanquam jus suum, et etiam Magister Michael robam illius comitis tanquam jus suum. Dedit etiam Magister Michael robam suam Thomæ de Capella cognato suo qui reliquis diebus anni consuevit dño Regi servire de cuppa sua; non tamen tenebatur dare nisi vellet.

No. 6.

Edw. II. an. 1. claus. 1. m. 12. 1308. Rymer, iii. 52.

De Rege Coronando.

REX, &c. salutem. Quia die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Valentini proximè futurum, apud Westm' proponimus, Deo propitio, coronari: Vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes quatenus die et loco prædictis coronationis nostræ prædictæ celebrandis solempniis personaliter intersitis. Et hoc, sicut honorem nostrum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis.

Teste Rege apud Dobor, 18 die Jan.

No. 7.

Edw. II. an. 1. claus. 1. m. 12. 1308. Rymer, iii. 53.

Ad Vicecomites de die Coronationis proclamando.

REX Vicecomiti Kantie salutem. Quia die Dominica proxima post festum Sancti Valentini proxime futurum apud Westm' proponimus, Deo propitio, coronari: Tibi precipimus quod diem illum pro nostræ coronationis prædictæ celebrandis solempniis ordinatum, in civitatibus, burgis, villis mercatoris in balliva tua, ubi videris expedire, publice et solempniter proclamari: Et milites, cives, burgenses, ac alios de com' prædicto, quos fore videris invitandos, ut dictis die et loco solempnizationi prædictæ personaliter intersint ex parte nostra facias invitari. Et hoc nullo modo omittas,

Teste Rege. apud **Debor**, 18 die Jan.

No. 8.

Edw. II. an. 1. claus. 1. m. 10. 1308. Rymer, iii. 59.

De Coronatione Regis et Reginæ celebranda.

REX, &c. salutem. Quia hac instanti die Dominica, proxima post festum Sancti Valentini Martyris, intendimus, Deo propitio, apud Westmonasterium coronari; Vobis mandamus, rogantes quatenus vos et consors vestra hujusmodi coronationis nostræ solempniis, dictis die et loco celebrandis, ad comitivam nobis et carissimæ consorti nostræ Isabelæ Reginæ Angliæ, ob nostrum et ipsius consortis nostræ honorem, faciendam, personaliter, modis omnibus intersitis. Et hoc, sicut nos diligitis, nullatenus omittatis.

Teste meipso apud **Debor**, 8 die Februarii.

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

No. 1.

Coronatio Judith Caroli filiæ, cum Regi Anglorum
desponsata est.

*Capitula Caroli Calvi Regis Franciæ in Hist. Franc. Script.
à Du Chesne, p. 423.*

Post Nuptiarum solennia sequitur

Benedictio Reginae.

Te invocamus, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne
Deus, ut hanc famulam tuam, quam tuæ divinæ dispensa-
tionis providentia in præsentem diem juvenili flore lætantem
crescere concessisti, tuæ pietatis dono ditatam, plenam veri-
tatis de die in diem coram te et hominibus ad meliora sem-
per proficere facias: ut in regimine suo gratiæ supernæ lar-
gitatem congaudens suscipiat, et misericordiæ tuæ muro ad-
versitate undique munita, cum pace propitiationis vivere
mereatur. Per Dominum.

Sursum Corda.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, electo-
rum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per
effusionem diluvii crimina mundi purgari voluisti, et per co-
lumbam ramum olivæ portantem pacem terris redditam de-
monstrasti: iterum Aaron famulum tuum per unctionem
olei sacerdotem unxisti: et postea per hujus unguenti infu-
sionem, ad regendum populum Israëliticum sacerdotes, re-

ges, et prophetas perfecisti, vultumque ecclesie in oleo exhilarandum prophetica famuli tui voce David esse prædixisti: qui hoc etiam unguento famulæ tuæ Judith ad liberationem servorum tuorum, et confusionem inimicorum, vultum exhilarasti, et ancillæ tuæ Hester faciem hac spiritali misericordiæ tuæ unctione adeo lucifluam reddidisti, ut efferatum cor regis ad misericordiam, et salvationem in te credentium, ipsius precibus inclinaret. Te quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut per hujus creaturæ pinguedinem, columbæ pace, simplicitate ac pudicitia decoram efficias. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui venturus est judicare.

Coronatio.

Gloria et honore coronet te Dominus, et ponat super caput tuum coronam de spiritali lapide pretioso: ut quicquid in fulgore auri, et in vario nitore gemmarum significatur, hoc in tuis moribus, hoc in actibus semper refulgeat. Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum.

Benedictiones.

Benedic, Domine, hanc famulam tuam, qui regna regum à seculo moderaris. Amen. Opera manuum illius suscipe, et benedictione tua terra ejus de pomis fructuum cœli, et rore atque abyso subjacente repleatur. Amen. De vertice antiquorum montium et collium æternorum, de frugibus terræ et plenitudine ejus, tua benedictione lætetur. Amen.

Benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput ejus. Da ei de rore cœli, et de pinguedine terræ, abundantiam frumenti et vini; ut serviant illi ac semini ejus populi, et in honore tuo tribus illam et semen ejus adorent. Amen. Reple eam benedictionibus uberum et vulvæ; benedictiones patrum antiquorum confortatæ sint super eam, et super semen ejus, sicut promisisti servo tuo Abraham et semini ejus in secula. Amen.

No. 2.

Ordo Coronationis ÆTHELREDI II. Regis.

*Ex MS. Cotton. Claud. A iii.*¹

INCIPIT consecratio regis, quem de conventu seniorum per manus producant duo episcopi ad ecclesiam, & clerus hanc decantet antiphonam duobus episcopis precinentibus.

ā Firmetur manus tua, ut supr^a v̄ Gloria Patri.

Perveniens rex ad ecclesiam, prosternat se coram altare, & ymnizetur

Te deum laudamus, Te dominum confitemur.

Quo finitenus ymnizato, rex erigatur de solo, & ab episcopis & a plebe electus, hec tria se servaturum iura promittat, & clara voce coram Deo omniq; populo dicit

HAEC TRIA POPL'O X'piano, & mihi subdito in X'pi promitto nomine. In primis ut ecclesia Dei, & omnis populus X'pianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet. Aliud, ut rapacitates & omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam. Tertium, ut in omnibus iudiciis aequitatem & misericordiam praecipiam, ut mihi & vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens & misericors Deus, qui vivit. *His peractis, omnes dicant Amen. Et he sequantur Orat' a singulis Episcopis singule super regem dicende.*

Te invocamus Domine sancte Pater omnipotens aeternae Deus, ut hunc famulum illum quem tuae divinae dispensationis providentia in primordio plasmatum usq; hunc praesentem diem iuvenili flore laetantem crescere concessisti, eum tuae pietatis dono ditatum plenumque gratia veritatis de die

¹ In hoc excudendo libello, scripturae faciem, quantum fieri potuit, typis exhibere curavimus.

in diem coram Deo & hominibus ad meliora semper proficere facias, ut summi regiminis solium gratiæ supernæ largitate gaudens suscipiat, & misericordiæ tuæ muro ab hostium adversitate undiq; munitus, plebem sibi commissam cum pace propitiationis, & virtute victoriæ feliciter regere mereatur, p'

Alia Orat.

Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis, & amore dominaris, da huic famulo tuo ill' spiritum sapientiæ cum regimine disciplinæ, ut tibi toto corde devotus in regni regimine maneat semper idoneus, tuoq; munere ipsius temporibus securitas aecclesiae dirigatur, et in tranquillitate devotio X'piana permaneat, ut in bonis operibus perseverans, ad aeternum regnum te duce valeat pervenire, per Dominum.

Alia Orat.

In diebus tuis oriatur omnis aequitas & iustitia, amicis adiutorium, inimicis obstaculum, humilibus solacium, elatis correctio, divitibus doctrina, pauperibus pietas, peregrinis pacificatio, propriis in patria pax & securitas, unumquemq; secundum suam mensuram moderate gubernans, te ipsum sedulus discutias, ut superna irrigatus compunctione toto populo X'pi placita praeberere vitæ possis exempla, & per viam veritatis cum grege gradiens tibi subdito, opes frugales habundanter adquiras. Simul ad salutem non solum corporum sed etiam cordium a Deo concessa cuncta accipias. Sicq; in te cogitatum animi consiliumq; omne componas, ut plebis gubernaculum pace simul & sapientia semper invenire videaris. X'po auxiliante praesentis vitae prolixitatem percipias, & per temporalia bona usq; ad summam senectutem pervenias, huiusq; fragilitatis finem perfectum ab omnibus vitiorum vinculis superne pietatis largitate transcendas, & infinite prosperitatis praemia perpæua, angelorumq; aeterna commercia consequaris, auxiliante dño nostro.

Consecratio Regis ab Episcopo qui arcem tenuerit super eum dicenda.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator ac gubernator cœli & terræ, conditor & dispositor angelorum & hominum, rex regum & dominus dominantium, qui Habraham fidelem famulum tuum de hostibus triumphare fecisti, Moysi & Iosue populo tuo prælatis multiplicem victoriam tribuisti; humilem quoq; David, puerum tuum, regni fastigio sublimasti, eumq; de ore leonis & de manu bestię, atq; Goliae, sed & de gladio maligno Saul et omnium inimicorum eius liberasti, & Salomonem sapientiæ pacisq; ineffabili munere ditasti; respice propitijs ad præces nostrę humilitatis, & super hunc famulum tuum illum quem supplici devotione in regem Anglo-rum vel Saxonum pariter eligimus benedictionum tuarum dona multiplica. Hunc dextera tuæ potentiae semper ubiq; circumda, quatinus prædicti Abrahę fidelitate firmatus, Moysi mansuetudine fretus, Iosue fortitudinis munitus, David humilitate exaltatus, Salomonis sapientiâ decoratus, tibi in omnibus complaceat, & per tramitem iustitiæ inoffenso gressu semper incedat. Hic totius regni Anglo-Saxonum aecclesiam deinceps cum plebibus sibi annexis ita enutriat ac doceat, muniat & instruat, contraq; omnes visibiles & invisibiles hostes idem potenter regaliterq; tuæ virtutis regimen amministret, ut regale solium, videlicet Anglorum vel Saxonum sceptro, non deserat, sed ad pristinæ fidei pacisq; concordiam eorum animos, te opitulante, reformet, ut populorum debita subiectione fultus, condigno amore glorificatus, per longum vitæ spatium paternæ apicem glorię tuæ miseratione unita, stabilire & gubernare mereatur. Tuæ quoq; protectionis galea munitus, & scuto insuperalibi iugiter protectus, armisq; caelestibus circumdatus, optabilis victoriæ triumphum de hostibus feliciter capiat, terroremq; suæ poten-

dae infidelibus inferat, & pacem tibi militantibus iustanter reportet. Virtutibus, Christe, hunc quibus praefatos fideles tuos decorasti, multiplici honoris benedictione condecora, et in regimine regni sublimiter colloca, & oleo gratiae Spiritus Sancti perunge, per Dominum, in unitate ejusdem.

Hic unguatur oleo, & hec cantetur antiphona:

ā Vncxerunt Salomonem Sadoch sacerdos & Nathan propheta regem in Gion; & accedentes dixerunt Vivat rex in eternum!

Quam sequatur Oratio.

X^pe perung^e hunc regem in regimen, unde unxisti sacerdotes, reges, & prophetas ac martyres, qui per fidem vicerunt regna, & operati sunt iustitiam, atq; adepti sunt repositiones. Tua sacratissima unctio super caput ejus defluat, atq; ad interiora descendat, & cordis illius intima penetret, & promissionibus, quas adepti sunt victoriosissimi reges, gratia tua dignus efficiatur, quatinus et in presenti saeculo feliciter regnet, & ad eorum consortium in caelesti regno perveniat, per, &c.

Alia.

Deus electorum fortitudo & humilium celsitudo, qui in primordio per effusionem diluvii crimina mundi castigare voluisti, & per columbam rami olivae portantem pacem terris redditam demonstrasti, iterumq; Aáron famulum tuum per unctionem olei sacerdotem sancxisti, & postea per huius unguenti infusionem ad regendam populum Israeliticum sacerdotes ac reges & prophetas praefecisti vultumq; ecclesiae

(Hic duae paginae desunt Codici Msto.)

[^ain oleo exhilarandum per propheticae famuli tui vocem David, esse praedixisti: ita quæsumus, omnipotens Deus Pa-

* Sic ex Libro Caroli V. Francie Regis supplendum:—Sed vide formulam benedictionis reginae Judith, supra, p. 394.

ter, ut per huius creature piaguedinem hunc servum tuum sanctificare benedictione digneris, eumq; in similitudinem columbae pacem simplicitatis, populo sibi commisso praeſtare, & exempla Aaron in Dei ſervitio diligenter imitari, regniq; ſaſtigia in conſiliis ſcientiae, & aequitate iudicii, ſemper aſſequi, vultumq; hilaritatis. per hanc olei unctionem, tuamq; benedictionem te adiuvante toti plebi paratum habere facias. Per Dominum.]

[³ Accipe hunc gladium cum Dei benedictione tibi collatum, in quo per virtutem Sancti Spiritus reſiſtere et eicere omnes inimicos tuos valeas,]

& cunctos ſanctę Dei eccleſiae adverſarios, regnumq; tibi commiſſum tutari, atq; protegere caſtra Dei, per auxilium invictiſſimi triumphatoris Domini noſtri Iheſu Chriſti, qui cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivit & regnat.

Oratio poſt datum Gladium.

Deus, qui providentia tua caeleſtia ſimul & terrena moderaris, propitiare Chriſtianiſſimo regi noſtro, ut omnis hoſtium ſuorum fortitudo, virtute gladii ſpiritalis, frangatur; ac ſa pro illo pugnante penitus conteratur, per, &c.

Hic coronetur Rex, eiq; dicatur

Coronet te Deus corona glorię atq; iuſtitię honore & opere fortitudinis, ut per officium noſtrę benedictionis cum fide recta & multiplici honorum operum fructu, ad coronam pervenias regni perpetui, ipſo largiente, cujus regnum permanet in ſaecula ſaeculorum. Amen.

Oratio ſuper Regem, poſtquam Corona fuerit impoſita ſuper caput eius.

Deus perpetuitatis, dux virtutum, cunctorum hoſtiam victor, benedic hunc famulum tuum N. tibi caput ſuum humiliter in-

³ Ex Libro Caroli V. Francię Regis.

cliantum, & proluxa sanitate & prospera felicitate eum conserva, & ubicumq; vel pro quibuscumq; auxilium tuum invocaverit cito adsis, & protegas ac defendas. Tribue ei, quæsumus, Domine, divitias gratiæ tuæ, comple in bonis desiderium eius, corona eum in misericordia tua ut tibi Domino pia devotione famuletur, per, &c.

Hic detur Regi Sceptrum, ei; dicatur.

Accipe sceptrum, regiae potestatis insigne, virgam scilicet regni rectam, virgam virtutis, qua teipsum bene regas, & sanctam aeclesiam populumq; videlicet Christianum, tibi a Deo commissum regia virtute ab improbis defendas. Pravos corrigas, rectos pacificos, & ut viam rectam tenere possint, tuo iuvamine dirigas, quatinus de temporali regno ad aeternum regnum pervenias. Ipso adiuvante cuius regnum & imperium sine fine permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratio super Regem postquam datum fuerit ei Sceptrum.

Omnium Domine fons bonorum, cunctorumq; Deus, institutor profectuum, tribue quæso famulo tuo illi, adeptam bene regere dignitatem, & a te sibi concessum honorem dignare corroborare. Honorifica eum præ cunctis regibus Britanniae, uberi eum benedictione locupleta, & in solio regni firma stabilitate consolida. Visita eum in sobole, & præsta ei prolixitatem vitae. In diebus eius superioratur iustitia, ut cum iocunditate & lætitia aeterno gloriatur in regno, per &c.

Hic Regi Virga detur, ei; dicatur

Accipe virgam virtutis atq; aequitatis, qua intelligas mulcere pios & terrere reprobos. Errantes viam doce, lapsisque manum porrigere, disperdasque superbos, et relevas humiles, ut aperiatur tibi ostium Ih'c X'pc dñs noster, qui de seipso ait, Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introierit salvabitur. Et ipse qui est clavis David & sceptrum domus Israel, qui aperit & nemo claudit, claudit & nemo aperit, sit tibi adiutor,

qui eduxit vinctum de domo carceris, sedentem in tenebris & umbra mortis; ut in omnibus sequi merearis eum de quo propheta David cecinit, Sedes tua D's in seculum seculi, virga recta est virga regni tui. Imitare ipsum qui dicit, Diligas iustitiam & hodie habes iniquitatem: propterea unxit te Dominus Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ ad exemplum illius quem ante secula unxerat præ participibus suis, Ih'm X'pm dñm nostrum.

Benedictio ad Regem.

Extendat omnipotens Dñs dexteram suæ benedictionis, et effundat super te donum suæ protectionis, & circumdet te muro felicitatis, ac custodia suæ protectionis; sanctæ Marine ac beati Petri Apostolorum principis, sanctiq; Gregorij Anglorum Apostoli atque omnium Sanctorum intercedentibus meritis! Amen.

Indulgeat tibi dominus omnia mala quæ gessisti, & tribuat tibi gratiam & misericordiam quam humiliter ab eo deposcis, ut liberet te ab adversitatibus cunctis, & ab omnibus visibilibus & invisibilibus inimicorum insidiis. Am.

Angelos suos bonos semper et ubiq; qui te præcedant, comitentur & subsequantur, ad custodiam tui ponat, & a peccato seu gladio, et ab omnium periculorum discrimine sua te potentia liberet. Amen.

Inimicos tuos ad pacis caritatiq; benignitatem convertat, & bonis omnibus te gratiosum & amabilem faciat, particeps quoq; in tui insecutione & odio confusione salutari induat; super te autem sanctificatio sempiterna floreat.

Victoriosum te atq; triumphatorem de invisibilibus atq; visibilibus hostibus semper efficiat, & sancti nominis sui timorem pariter & amorem continuum cordi tuo infundat & in fide recta ac bonis operibus perseverabilem reddat, & pace in diebus tuis concessa, cum palma victoriæ te ad perpetuum regnum producat. Amen.

Et qui te voluit super populum suum constituere regem, & in presenti seculo felicem, & aeternae felicitatis tribuant esse consortem. Quod ipse prestare. *Aha.*

Benedic Domine hanc praelectam principem, qui regna omnium regum a seculo moderaris. Amen.

Et tali eum benedictione glorifica ut Davitica teneat sublimitate acceptrum salutis; & sanctifici propitiationis munere repperiatur lucupletatus. Amen.

Da ei tuo spiramine regere populum sicut Salomonem fecisti regnum optinere pacificum. Amen. Quod ipse prestare.

Designatio status Regis.

Sta & retine amodo statum, quem hucusque paterna suggestionem tenuisti, hereditario iure tibi delegatum per auctoritatem Dei Omnipotentis, & per presentem traditionem nostram, omnium scilicet Episcoporum ceterorumque Dei servorum; & quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorum prospicias, tanto ei potiore in locis congruis honorem impendere memineris, quatinus Mediator Dei & hominum, te mediatorem cleri & plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, & in regno aeterno secum regnare faciat I'hc X'pc dñs n'r, rex regum & dñs dominantium, qui cum dō Patre & Spiritu Sancto.

Sequitur Oratio.

Omnipotens Deus det tibi de rore caeli & de pinguedine terrae habundantiam frumenti & vini & olei; serviant tibi populi & adorent te tribus. Esto dñs fratrum tuorum, & incurventur ante te filii matris tuae, & qui benedixerit tibi benedictionibus repleatur, & Deus erit adiutor tuus. Omnipotens benedicat tibi benedictionibus caeli desuper & in montibus & in collibus, benedictionibus abyssi iacentis dorsum, benedictionibus uberum & valvae: Benedictionibus uvarum pomorumque, Benedictiones patrum antiquorum Abraham Isâc, et Jacob confortatæ sint super te, per, &c.

Alia Or'.

Benedic Domine fortitudinem huius principis & operam manuum illius suscipe, & benedictione tua terra eius de pomis replentur de fructu caeli & rore atque abyssi subiacentis; de fructu solis & lunæ, de vertice antiquorum collium & de fragibus terræ & plenitudinæ eius.

Benedictio illius qui apparuit in rubo veniat super caput ejus, ill'. & plena sit benedictio Domini in filiis eius, & tingat in oleo pedem suum.

Corrua rinocerotis corrua illius, in ipsis ventilabit gentes usque ad terminos terræ, & ascensor caeli auxiliator suus in sempiternum fiat! per dñm.

Finit consecratio Regis. Quam sequitur consecratio Regine que propter honorificentiam ab episcopo sacri unguinis oleo super verticem perfundenda est et in ecclesia coram optimatibus cum condigno honore et regia celestidine in regali thori consortium benedicenda et consecranda est, que etiam anulo pro integritate fidei, et corona pro aternitatis gloria decoranda est.

Incipit consecratio Regine: ab Episcopo dicenda est

IN NOMINE PATRIS, & filii, & s'pc sc'i, prosit tibi hæc unctio olei in honorem & confirmationem æternam in sc'la sciõrum.

Amen.

Oratio.

Om'ps sempiterno D's, affluentem spiritum tuę benedictionis super familiam tuam N. nobis orantibus propitiatus infunde, utque per manus nostræ impositionem hodiæ regina instituitur, sanctificatione tua digna & electa permaneat, ut nunquam postmodum de tua gratia separetur indigna. per dñm.

Hic detur ei Anulus.

Accepe anulum fidei, signaculum sanctæ trinitatis, quo possis omnes hereticas prævitas devitare, & barbaras gentes virtute Dei præcœmere, & ad agnitionem veritatis advocare, præstante, &c.

Alia.

Deus cuius est omnis potestas & dignitas da famulae tuae N. signo tuae fidei prosperum suae dignitatis effectum, in qua tibi semper firma maneat, tibiq; iugiter placere contendant, per dñm.

Hic coronetur.

Accipe coronam glorię honorem iocunditatis ut splendida fulgeas, & aeterna exultatione coroneris, per. *Alia.*

Omnium dñe fons bonorum & cunctorum dator profectuum, tribue famulae tuae N. adeptam bene regere dignitatem, & a te sibi praestitam in ea bonis operibus corroborare gloriam. per dñm ñrm.

MISSA PRO REGE ORDINATO.

Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster, qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus & vitiorum monstra devitare, & ad te, qui via veritas & vita es, gratus valeat pervenire, per. *Secreta.*

Munera dñe quæsumus oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis unigeniti tui corpus & sanguis fiant. & ill' regi adoptinendam animę corporisq; salutem, & peragendum iniunctum officium te largiente usquequaque proficiant, per. *Præfatio.*

O aeternae Deus, qui es fons inaccessibilis lucis, & origo perpetuae bonitatis, regum consecrator, honorum omnium attributor, dignitatumq; largitor, cuius ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus ut famulum tuum N. quem regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiae ceterarumq; virtutum sanctarum ornamentis facias decorari. Et quia tui est muneris quod regnat, tuae sit pietatis quo id feliciter agat, quatinus in fundamento spei, fidei, caritatisque fundatus, peccatorum labe abstersus, de visibilibus & invisibilibus hostibus triumphator effectus, subiecti populi augmento, prosperitate & securitate exhilaratus cum eis mutua dilectione conexus, & transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter

teneat, & ad æterni infinita gaudia te miserante perveniat, per X'pm.

Benedictio.

Providentia & gubernatio Dei omnipotentis, quæ te in regale dignitatis solium hodierna die mirifice disposuit ordinare, dignetur te benedicere, sublimare, & triumphabiliter confirmare.

Faciât te prudentem consilio, audacem ingenio, præclarum imperio, ut culmina regni sagaciter prævideas, & hostium machinamenta fortiter repugnes. Amen.

Quatinus lorica fidei muuitus, ense trophei stipatus, galea quoque salutis redimitus, securus vitæ tempora subtiliter & perspicaciter possideas, ut cum X'po rege regum & dño dominorum in æternæ felicitatis regno feliciter regnare valeas. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare. *Ad cõplendum.*

(Sic desinit ultima quæ nunc exstat pagina hujus libelli: folio terminali excisæ.)

No. 3.

MS. Cott. Cleop. B xiii. p. 56.

PROMISSIO REGIS¹.

Dif geppit is geppiten swæð be swæðe be þam geppite þe Duntan arceb. realde upum hlafordbe æt Cingertune þa on dæg þa hine man halgode to cinge. ⁊ forbead him ælc pedd to gýllanne butan þýgan pedde þe he up on Crister feofod lede. swa je Bysceop him dihte; On þære halgan þryunnesse naman Ic þreo þing behæte Crystenum folce. ⁊ me under-ðeoddum; An ærest ⁊ Godes cýrice, ⁊ eall Crysten folc

¹ —“Sacramentum, id genus omnium, quæ mihi hæcenus videre contigit, antiquissimum; ipsissimum nimirum Juramentum quo conceptis verbis præscripto R. *ÆTHELREDUM* (ut videtur) jam tum corona solemniter induendum adegit Archiepiscopus Cantwarensis S. Dunstanus.”—Hicks, *Inst. Grammat. Præf.*

manra geƿealða ƿoðe ƿibbe healde. Oðer iſ ƿ ic ƿearflac 7 ealle unƿihte ƿiſg eallum hādum ƿorbeode. ƿriðde ƿ ic be- hāte 7 bebeode on eallum dōmum ƿiht 7 mildheortneſſe. ƿæt uſ eallum aſſæſt 7 mildheort God ƿurh ƿ hiſ ecean miſſe ƿorðſe. Se lſſað 7 ƿiſað. FINIT.

Se Criſtana cýng ƿe ƿaſ ƿiſg gehealdeð. he geearnað him ƿýlſum ƿoroldlicne ƿeorðmýnt. 7 him éce God. ægðer gemiltſað. ge on andƿerdum liſe. ge ac on ƿam ecean ƿe æſſe ne ateorad; Giſ he ƿonne ƿ aƿægð. ƿ gode ƿæſ be- hācen. ƿonn ſceal hit ƿýððan ƿýſſian ƿſýðe ſóna on hiſ ƿeode. 7 eall hit on ende gehƿýſſeð on ƿ ƿýſſe. butan he on hiſ liſ ſæce. æſ hit gebéte. Eala leoſ hlaſorð beorh huſu ƿiſga georſne ƿe ƿýlſum. geſenc ƿ gelōme. ƿ ƿu ſcealt ƿa heorðe. ƿorð æt Godeſ dōme ƿpan 7 læðan. ƿe ƿu earſt to hýpde geſcýſt on ƿýſum liſe. 7 ƿonn gecennan hu ƿu geheolde. ƿ Criſt æſ gebrohte ƿýlſ mid hiſ blōde.

Gehalgodeſ cýnges ƿiht iſ. ƿ he næwigne man ne ƿor- dēme. 7 ƿ he ƿudſpan. 7 ſceorcið. 7 ælſeodige ƿeſige 7 amundige. 7 ſcāla ƿorbeode. 7 unſiht hæmedu gebéte. 7 ſiblegeſu to-ſſæme. 7 gſundlinga ƿorbeode. ƿiccan 7 gal- dſa adelige. mægſſýðſpan 7 manſſpan of earde adſiſe. ƿearſan mid ælſſýſſan ſéde. 7 ealde 7 ƿiſe 7 ƿýſſe him to geſeahterum hæbbe. 7 ſihtſiſe men him to ƿicneſum ſette. ƿorðan ſſa hſæt ſſa hiſ to unſichte gedoð ƿurh hiſ aſal. he hiſ ſceal ealles geſceað aſýðan on domeſ dæg.

No. 4.

Robertus Holkot *super Librum Sapientie*; *ex Edit. in folio*, Basil. 1489. fol. lxxiii. b.

Sectio lxxiv.—*Audite ergo Reges.*

In Coronatione Regis, priusquam benedictio vel consecra- tio super eum fiat, ista tria juramenta faciet sub hac forma.

In Christi nomine promitto hec tria populo Christiano mihi subdito. In primis me precepturum et opem pro viribus impensurum, ut ecclesia Dei et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore conservet. Aliud, ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdiciam. Tertium ut in omnibus iudicijs equitatem et misericordiam precipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat misericordiam suam clemens et misericors Deus.

Ecce quam secunda conscientia potest talis viuere, qui habet sub se quasi infinitum populum regere : cum hec tria seruare in rebeli gente et falsa sit summe difficile. Non enim ad ludum, nec ad honorem tantum, nec ad ocium, sed ad periculum, sollicitudinem, et summum negotium est vocatus.

Postquam autem rex predicta iurauerit, dictis super eum quibusdam orationibus, tunc Metropolitanus inunget ei manus de oleo sanctificato et postea pectus et scapulas compagesque brachiorum. Et tandem de oleo eodem fiet crux super caput ejus, postea de crismate cum orationibus : postea ab episcopis accipiet ense, et cum ense totum regnum sibi fideliter ad regendum sciat esse commendatum, dicente Metropolitano (si tum solemnitatem faciat) Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum, licet indignus, vice tamen et auctoritate apostolorum consecratus tibi regaliter impositum, nostre benedictionis officio, in defensionem sancte Dei ecclesie diuinitus ordinatum. Et esto memor de quo Psalmista prophetauit dicens Accingere gladio tuo super femur tuum potentissime, vt per eundem vim equitatis exerceas, molem iniquitatis potenter destruas, et sanctam Dei ecclesiam ejusque fideles propugnando protegas ; nec minus sub fide falsos quam Christiani nominis hostes execreris et destruas : Viduas et pupillos clementer adiuues et defendas : Desolata restaures

et restaurata conserves : Ulciscaris iniusta : confirmes bene disposita, quatenus hec agendo virtutum triumphator gloriosus, iusticieque cultor egregius cum mundi salvatore cuius typum geris, in nomine sine fine merearis regnare. Cum accinctus fuerit ense accipiet armillas a Metropolitano cum hac prenia oratione : Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapentie, diuineque triumphationis¹ indicium : quibus intelligas omnes operationes tuas contra hostes visibiles² posse esse munitas. Deinde accipiet pallium. Et postea coronabitur. Post illa accipiet anulum. Deinde sceptrum, et ultimo virgam. Coronatus ergo, Episcopos osculetur, a quibus, choro canente Te Deum laudamus, ad solium regale ducitur, Metropolitano dicente, Sta et retine ammodo locum quem hucusque paterna successione tenuisti hereditario iure³ tibi delegatum per auctoritatem Dei omnipotentis et presentem traditionem nostram, atque omnium episcoporum ceterorumque Dei seruorum : et quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorem prospicis, tanto ei potiore in locis congruis honorem impendere memineris : quatenus mediator Dei et hominum te mediatorem cleri et plebis in hoc regni solio confirmet, et in regnum eternum faciat regnare Jesus Christus Dominus noster, rex regum et dominus dominantium. Letanie et alie multe orationes dicuntur super eum ; que omnes eum declarant debere esse cultorem iusticie et fidei zelatorem, que sine doctrina sapientum exequi non potest⁴.

¹ "circundationis," Ordo Hen. I. ² "et invisibiles," Ordo Hen. I.

³ "iudicio," Ordo Hen. I.

⁴ "Robertus Haldecotus, Dominicanus, Avonis borealis alumnus, floruit, ut ait Trithemius, regnante Edvardo Tertio."—Leland, *De Script. Brit.*

No. 5.

Edw. II. an. 1. claus. 1. m. 10. 1308. Rymer, iii. 63.

Juramentum Regis Edwardi II.

Petit. SIRE, volez vous graunter et garder, et par vostre serment confirmer, au poeple d'Engleterre les leys et les custumes à eux grauntees par les auntries rois d'Engleterre voz predecessours, droitures et devotz a Dieu, et nomement les lois, les custumes, et les franchises grauntez au clergie et au poeple par le glorieus roi Seint Edward vostre predecessour?

Respons. Jeo les¹ grante et promette.

Petit. Sire, garderez vous a Dieu et² seint Eglise, et au clergie et au poeple, paes et acord en Dieu entierment, selonc vostre poer?

Respons. Jeo les³ garderai.

Petit. Sire, freez vous faire en touz voz jugemens ovele et droit justice et discretion, en misericorde et verite, a vostre poer?

Respons. Jeo le frai.

Petit. Sire, grauntez vous a tenir et garder les loys et les custumes droitureles les quies la communaute de vostre royaume aura esleu⁴, et les defendrez et afforterez al honur de Dieu, a vostre poer?

Respons. Jeo les graunte et promette.

¹ "le," Wanley, Cat. 284.

² "et a," Edw. III. et Wanley.

³ "le," Wanley.

⁴ "auera caluz," Wanley.

No. 6.

Juramentum Regis quando coronatur.

Tottel's *Statutes*, 1556, fol. 164.

METROPOLITANUS vel episcopus dominum regem coronaturus mediocri distinctaque voce eum interroget si leges et consuetudines ab antiquis, justis, et Deo devotis regibus plebi Anglorum concessas cum sacramenti confirmatione eidem plebi concedere et servare voluerit, et præsertim leges et¹ consuetudines et libertates a glorioso rege Edwardo clero populoque concessas. ²Si autem his omnibus assentire se velle promiserit, exponat ei metropolitanus vel episcopus de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo.

Servabis ecclesiæ Dei, clero, et populo³ pacem ex integro, et concordiam in Deo, secundum vires tuas? Respondebit, Servabo.

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis equam et rectam justiciam et discretionem in⁴ misericordia et veritate, ⁵secundum vires tuas? Respondebit, Faciam.

Concedis justas leges et consuetudines esse tenendas, et promittis eas per te esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas? Respondebit, Concedo et promitto.

Adjiciaturque prædictis interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint. Pronuntiatis omnibus confirmet se omnia esse serva-

¹ Deest *Cot.* *Nero* C ix. 166, et *Lit. Reg.*

² "Dicto autem principe se promittente omnia præmissa concessuram et servaturam, tunc exponat ei metropolitanus de quibus jurabit, ita dicendo."—*Lit. Reg.* "articulos de quibus jurabit."—*Cot.*

³ "populo et clero," *Cot.*—"cleroque et populo," *Lit. Reg.*

⁴ Sic *Lit. Reg.*—"cum," *Cot.* ⁵ Sic *Lit. Reg.*—Deest *Cot.*

turum sacramento super altare protinus præstito coram cunctis, &c.

Admonitio Episcoporum.

Liber Regalis.

DOMINE Rex, a vobis perdonari petimus, ut unicuique de nobis et ecclesiis nobis commissis canonicum privilegium ac debitam legem atque justitiam conservetis, et defensionem exhibeat, sicut rex in suo regno debet unicuique episcopo, abbatibus, et ecclesiis sibi commissis.

Respondebit Rex,

Animo libenti et devoto, promitto vobis et perdono quod unicuique de vobis et ecclesiis vobis commissis canonicum privilegium, et debitam legem atque justitiam servabo, et defensionem, quantum potuero, adjuvante Domino, exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo, abbatibus, et ecclesiis sibi commissis per rectum exhibere debet.

Sacramentum Regis.

Ex Libro Statutorum typis Machlinianis impresso, regnante Edvardo IV.—Blackst. *Comm.* b. i. c. 6.

Ceo est le serement que le roy jurre a soun coronement : que il gardera et meintenera lez droitez et lez franchisez de seynt esglise grauntes auncienment dez droitez roys christiens d'Engleterre, et quil gardera toutes ses terres honoures et dignitees droiturelx et franks del coron du roialme d'Engleterre en tout maner dientierte sanz null maner d'amenusement, et lez droitez dispergez dilapidez ou perdez de la corone a soun poiair reappeller en launcien estate, et quil gardera le peas de seynt esglise et al clergie et al peuple de bon accorde, et quil face faire en toutes ses jugementes owel et droit justice oue discrecion et misericorde, et quil grauntera

a tenure lez leyes et custumex du roialme, et a soun poir lez face garder et affirmer, que lez gentex du peuple avont faitez et esliez, et lez malveys leyz et custumes de tout oustera, et ferme peas et establie al peuple de soun roialme en ceo garde esgardera a son poir : come Dieu luy aide.

No. 7.

Freherus, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. p. 35.

Juramentum Regis Romanorum.

ITEM, Letania finita crexit se rex, et dominus archiepiscopus Coloniensis stans ante altare, habens baculum pastoralem in manu sua, interrogavit a rege sex puncta sequentia.

Vis sanctam fidem Catholicis viris traditam¹ tenere, et opibus justis servare?

Respondit Rex Volo.

Coloniensis. Vis sanctis ecclesiis, ecclesiarumque ministris, fidelis esse tutor et defensor?

Respondit Rex Volo.

Dominus Coloniensis. Vis regnum tibi a Deo concessum secundum justitiam prædecessorum tuorum regere et efficaciter² defendere?

Respondet Rex Volo.

Episcopus Coloniensis. Vis jura regni et imperii conservare, bonaque ejusdem injuste dispersa recuperare, et fideliter in usus regni et imperii dispensare?

Respondet Rex Volo.

Episcopus Coloniensis. Vis pauperum et divitum, viduarum et orphanorum æquus esse iudex et pius defensor?

Respondet Rex Volo.

¹ "tibi traditam," *Ord. Rom.* ² *Deest Ord. Rom.*

Episcop. Coloniensis. Vls sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino Romano Pontifici, et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectionem debitam et fidem reverenter exhibere?

Quibus dictis, rex per archiepiscopos Moguntinensem et Treverensem ductus est ad altare, et positis duobus digitis manus suæ dextræ super altare, dixit Volo; Et in quantum divino fultus fuero adjutorio, et precibus fidelium Christianorum adjutus valuerò, omnia præmissa fideliter adimplebo: Sic me Deus adjuvet et omnes Sancti ejus.

Hoc facto, per archiepiscopos prædictos reducebatur iterum ante altare, et dominus archiepiscopus Coloniensis stans ante altare cum baculo pastorali quæsit a principibus Alamaniæ, et clero et populo circumstantibus, Vultis tali principi ac rectori vos subdicere, ipsiusque regnum firmare, fide stabilire, atque jussionibus illius obtemperare? juxta Apostolum, Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit, sive regi tanquam præcellenti, &c. Ad quam quæstionem dominus Moguntinensis et Treverensis, principes Almaniæ, clerus et populus assistentes responderunt, dicentes Fiat, fiat, fiat.

No. 8.

Pont. Rom. Clem. VIII. ed. 1683, 12mo, p. 204. Selden,
Tit. Hon. part I. cap. 8, v.

Professio Regis ex Pontificale Rom.

Ego N., Deo annuente, futurus rex N. profiteor et promitto coram Deo et angelis ejus, deinceps legem, justitiam, et pacem ecclesiæ Dei populoque mihi subjecto, pro posse et nosse facere ac servare, salvo condigno misericordiæ Dei respectu, sicut in consilio fidelium meorum melius potero invenire. Pontificibus quoque ecclesiarum Dei condignum

et canonicum honorem exhibere, atque ea quæ ab imperatoribus et regibus ecclesiis collata et reddita sunt inviolabiliter observare. Abbatibus, comitibus¹, et vassallis metâ congruum² honorem, secundum consiliâ fidelium meorum, præstare³.

Deinde ambabus manibus tangit libram Evangeliorum, quem metropolitanus ante se apertam tenet, dicens, Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Evangelia.

No. 9.

Stransky, *Respublica Bojema*, cap. v. § 16.

Juramentum Regis Boiemæ.

JURAMUS Deo, Matri Deiparæ, Sanctisque omnibus, in sacro hoc Evangelio, velle nos et debere baronibus, equitibus, nobilibusque, item Pragensesibus, civitatibusque reliquis, ac universæ communitati regni Bojemæ, instituta, leges, privilegia, exemptiones, libertates, et jura, adeoque vetustas, bonas, laudabilesque consuetudines inviolatas servare, ab hoc eodem regno Bojemæ nec abalienare quicquam, nec oppignorare, verum pro nostra virili id potius augere ac amplificare, et omne quod bonum honorificumque regno illi sit facere: Ita nos Deus adjuvet, et Sancti omnes.

Sedenti in solio regi dexter assistens Burggravius oratione ad proceres populumque Bojemæ conversa contentissime, voce ter repetita rogat, et Vultis, inquit, vestro huic regi subijci, obtemperare, fidelesque esse, et regnum majestatis

¹ "conventibus," *Pontif. MS.*

² "amorem et," *Pont. MS.*

³ "Et hæc omnia super hæc sacrosancta Evangelia tacta me veraciter observaturum jure," *Pontif. MS.*

sus ope vestra ac opera firmum præstare: tum etiam præbetisne vestrum ei coronando assensum?

Annuentibus et terna similiter responsione comprobantibus dicta universis, ad regem convertitur, et venerabundas rogans, Visne, rex clementissime, inquit, privilegia cuncta, libertates, immunitates, jura, leges, vetusta laudabilia instituta et consuetudines, cum publicas tum privatas, tribus regni hujus ordinibus omnibus, sertas tectas servare, nec eas ulla ratione violare? Rege præstaturum ea omnia respondente, archiepiscopus—regio diademate caput regis, precibus adhibitis, cingit. &c.

Cum in solio consedit, burggravius ad proceres populumque omnem, fidem ab iis regi et subjectionem stipulaturus, in verba regis juraturos præfatur et ait:

Quandoquidem N. princeps serenissimus legitime rex est electus ac coronatus, in nomine D. O. M. ego majestatem suam omnibus tribus ordinibus, universo regni hujus populo, regem Bojemie pronuntio, esseque jubeo. Vultisne igitur majestati sue fideles esse obtemperareque ac subjici?

Velle respondentibus, et singulis monitu ejusdem burggravii digitos duos sursum erigentibus, primus ad regem propius accedit, ac factus illi supplex, impositum capiti regio diadema digitis duobus contingit, et, ut idem omnes, qui loco non prohibentur, cum veneratione præstent, commonefacit.

No. 10.

Modus faciendi Homagium, edit. an. xvii. Edw. II.

Tottel's Statutes, fol. 101 b.

QUAUNT franke home fra homage a son seignr de qui il tient en chiefe, il tiendra ses mains jointes par enter les mains son seignour, et dira issint: Jeo deveigne vostre home de

ceo iour en avant, de vie et de membre et de terre; et hon-
nour et foy vous portera del tenement que ieo teigne de vous :
save la foy que ieo doy a ñre seigñr le roy et a mez autrez
seigñrs.

Quant franke home fra fealtie a son seigñr, il tiendra sa
main dextre outre le liuer, et dira issint : Ceo oyes vous mon
seigñr R. que ieo P. vous serra feall et loial, et foy vous por-
tera del teñt que ieo teigne de vous, et loyamment vous fra
les customes et les services queux ieo faire vous doy as
termes assign' ; Si moy eyde Dieu et ses Saintz.

MS. Cott. Nero C ix. fol. 165 b—167.

Serement en Fraunceys.

Jeo devien vostre homeliege de vie et de membre et de fealte.
Et terrane honor a vous portera encontre toutz manere de
gentz que pount vivre et moir. Si Dieu me eide et toutes
Seyntes.

APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

No. 1.

Claus. 2 Ed. I. m. 13. 1274. Rymer, tom. ii. p. 21.

De Provisionibus faciendis contra Coronationem
Regis.

Rex Vicecomiti Gloucestr. salutem. Præcipimus tibi quod contra instans festum coronationis nostræ, quod in instantibus octabis Paschæ celebraturi sumus, Domino concedente, provideas ad opus nostrum in balliva tua, per visum latoris præsentium, quem ad te propter hoc transmittimus, de sexaginta bobus et vaccis, sexaginta porcis, duobus apris pinguibus, sexaginta multonibus vivis, et de tribus millibus caponum et gallinarum, et de quadraginta baconibus, ita quod ea habeas apud *Windsor* in vigilia Paschæ proximo futura ad ultimum, constabulario nostro castri *Windsor* liberanda. Et hoc sicut te et tua diligis, et indignationem nostram vitare volueris nullatenus omittas; et habeas ibi tunc hoc breve.

Et cum sciverimus custum quod ad hoc posueris illud tibi ad Scaccarium nostrum faciemus allocari.

Dat. per manum W. de Merton Cancellarii apud *Westm* decimo die Februarii.

Consimiles litteræ diriguntur vicecomitibus Bnk. et Bed. &c.

MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv. p. 125.

Rex precepit diversis vicecomitibus quod contra instans festum suæ coronacōis quod in octabis Paschæ prox. cele-

bratur' est, provideant in ballivis suis per visum latoris presentium, de nonnullis bobus vaccis, &c. separatim in diversis comitatibus, que in tota attingunt viz. de bobus et vaccis 44: de porcis 440: de apris pinguibus 18: de multonibus 420: caponibus et gallinis 22860, de baconibus 278.

Claus. a. 2 E. I. m. 12. et in cedula pendens. dat. per Februarium.

No. 2.

Edw. II. an. 1. pat. 1. m. 18. 1307. Rymer, vol. iii. p. 11.

De Vinis providendis pro Coronatione Regis.

REX Senescallo suo Vasconie et Constabulario suo Burdegaliæ, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod in ducatu prædicto, in locis quibus ad majus commodum nostrum expedire videritis, de mille doliis boni vini ad opus nostrum provideri, ac ea pro solempnitate Coronationis nostræ usque London cum festinatione quâ poteritis sub tuta custodia cariari facietis; ita quod sunt ibidem citra festum natalis Domini proximo futurum, ad ultimum, Pincernæ nostro ibidem liberanda; et hoc nullo modo omittatis. Mandamus enim mercatoribus de societate Friscobalderum de Florentia, receptoribus exituum ducatus prædicti, quod de exitibus illis expensas quas tam in emptione vinorum illorum, et fretatione navium, quam custodia eorundem, et alio modo circa eadem vina rationabiliter apponi contigerit, per visum et testimonium alterius vestrum, solvant indilate.

Teste Rege apud Clipstun 25 die Septembris.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 60 line 10. omit the words "which was probably made to contain it."

P. 64 line 14. "Edward IV."—It is however said by Froissart (p.339) that the crown of St Edward at the coronation of Henry IV. was arched—"laquelle couronne estoit archée en croix."

P. 73 line 11. instead of "at whose coronation" read "for at his queen's coronation."

P. 86 line 10. As a note on Buskins, add "*Caliga præterea propria est episcoporum; nam priusquam sandalia induant, caligis ad genua usque protensis crura revincunt.*"—Ducange, v. *Caliga*.

P. 90. In SWEDEN, as we learn from Brehmer's elaborate dissertation, the Regalia consist of the crown, the sword, the sceptre, the orb, and the golden key; to which another writer adds the ring. The crown is formed with eight bows making four arches, surmounted by a globe and cross. The sceptre is terminated by a small crown: two others are also preserved in the royal treasury. There are likewise three orbs, each of gold, and surmounted by a cross; one of them only is used on occasions of state. The key is supposed to have been added to the other regalia in the reign of Charles IX. The kings of Sweden appear to have been invested with the same habiliments which are used in other nations.

P. 90. Since the account of the Scottish Regalia was given to the press, the Crown Room has again been opened by a commission from the Prince Regent, and the antient Honours there deposited were found safe and entire. The room itself has since been fitted up in the most appropriate manner for the reception of visitors, and the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword are now exhibited to the public. A highly interesting account of their history has also been printed; and from this it appears that the former commission was not granted for the particular purpose of discovering the Regalia, as stated in the text, but of searching for records supposed to be in the room.

P. 93. at the bottom—for Appendix read Additional Notes.

P. 94 line 18. for "Sir Henry" read "Sir John."

P. 98 line 21. after "Presburg" add—and those of Bohemia by the archbishop of Prague at Prague.

P. 125 line 6. add—and at that of James I. Robert Ratcliffe earl of Essex claimed to be *Dapifer* under the patent granted to his great-grandfather.

P. 133. add to Note 78,—I find a like service in Bohemia;—“*Holunucensis et Wratislaviensis episcopi, quos duos jam olim regis assistentes vulgus appellavit.*”—Stransky, *Resp. Bojem.* c. v. § 13.

P. 139 line 7. for “Francis” read “Gilbert.”

P. 140. add to Note 91,—In earlier times we find this service contested from another quarter. “*Quos quidem pannos suos esse de jure vendicaverunt et illos obtinuerunt in curia, licet Marchiones de Marchia Walliæ, vis. Johannes Filius Alani, Radulfus de Mortuomari, Johannes de Monemus, et Walterus de Clifford nomine Marchiæ esse..... hastas inveniendi, et illas differendi. Sed quodammodo frivolum reputabatur.*” &c.—Claims, 20 Hen. III. ex Lib. Rub. Scacc. MS. Cott. Vesp. C xiv.

P. 155. add to Note 137,—I have found another notice of Belet's claim in the 20th of Henry III. on the same occasion which is mentioned by Matthew Paris: from this it appears that the service belonged rather to the household than to the time of a coronation exclusively.

See the Appendix to Book III., No. 5.

P. 320 note, refer to note 10 on p. 304.

P. 360. Note 15 at the bottom to be erased.

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THE END.

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